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## ZUR SPANISCHEN GRAMMATIK

### V.<sup>1</sup> *ser* + ADVERB

Aus der Fülle dessen, was sich über diese Erscheinung sagen liesse, seien für diesmal ein paar Einzelheiten hervorgehoben. Ich beschränke mich dabei weiter auf solche Fälle, in denen die Aussage sich auf ein bestimmtes Subjekt bezieht.

Zum lat. Gebrauch s. Kühner II § 4, 3; Schmalz<sup>4</sup> § 153.

Nur wenig ist bei Meyer-Lübke III § 400 zu finden; etwas mehr bei Diez 993 (=III 314).

a) Unter den Adverbien, die prädikativ zu *esse* treten, zitiert Diez an erster Stelle *bene* und *male*. Sp. *soy bien* (*mal*) ist nicht erwähnt. Encina 323 (Suplicio zu Vitoriano) *Por muerta cierto la* (sc. Plácida) *ten*; *Mas mira quién* (sc. der Angeredete) *es muy bien*. *No te desmayes, despierta Y levanta*. (Ich verstehe: Sie ist tot, aber Du befindest Dich wohl, bist am Leben.) Alex. 2061 *Al sennor los uassallos ueenlo mal seer* (Morel-Fatio 2203 *mal Seÿer*) [=sehn ihn in übler Lage]. Prim. Crón. Gen. 702 a 50 *et los de Baesça, ueyendol daquella guisa uenir* (sc. fuyendo), *entendieron que mal era et que uençudo uinie*.

Hierher gehört *ser bien con uno*, gut stehn mit E., das dem afz. *estre bien d'aucun* (nfz. *avec q.*)<sup>2</sup> entspricht: Milagros 484 *Confliessate con elli è seras bien comigo*. Wiederum häufiger *estar bien* (*mal*) *con uno*: Milagros 531. Prim. Crón. Gen. 550 b 35. 569 b 25 *quando*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mod. Lang. Not. XXVII 166.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Berte (Scheler) 2717 Anm. Ebenso Li Chevalliers as .II. espees 7798 *Et de ce k'il est malement D'aucun de chaisens, moi en poise*. Vgl. Littré s.v. *Bien* 2, 7.

sopo que estaua mal Abeniaf con los almorauides . . . etc. Rim. Palacio 521 con Dios mejor estaua.

Hat *ser* in den besprochenen Fällen konkrete Bedeutung, so ist es blosser Kopula in der Verbindung *ser bien para*: Boc. Oro 222 *la vengança es peligrosa a (peligro para hgpTV) anbos, [e el guyamiento es bien para vos amos]*. (Doch könnte *bien* hier, wie in anderen Fällen, die ich nicht erwähne, auch das Subst. sein. Vgl. die V.L. zu *peligrosa*.) Corvacho 196 *Estos tales (sc. flematicos) son tiblyos, nin buenos para acá, nin malos para allá, . . . dormidores, pesados, mas flozoz que madeza, nin byen son para reyr nin byen son para llorar, frios . . .*

An dieser Stelle noch ein Wort über *como*, prädikativ bei *ser*. Prim. Crón. Gen. 566 b 49 *Agora queremos contar como fue la muerte del rey de Valencia*. Wohl am häufigsten mit Beziehung auf *nombre*, *gracia*: Celestina (1501) 143 *Ce, señor, como es tu nombre?* Leyendas Mor. I 142 *¿Cómo és tu nombre?* II 59 *¿Y cómo es tu nombre?* 331 (wie I 142. Antwort: *Me llamo Zaidi*). Primavera I 90 *Dígame tú, el caballero, ¿cómo era la tu gracia?*—*A mi dicen don Rodrigo . . . Autos II 317 Moysen . . . dezime, si fuerdes servido, como es vuestra gracia*. Bobo. *Yo, señor, llamome . . .* Einige Zeilen weiter: Bobo . . . *Como es su donbre?*<sup>1</sup> Moysen. *Yo Moysen me llamo*. Erklärlich, weil daneben steht: *¿Cómo te llamas?* etc. Ebenso it.: Viaggio Carlo Magno II (Scelta 124) 119 *Chi siti voi, cavaliere, e come è il vostro nome?* Ein zweites Beispiel (aus Sacchetti) bei Vockeradt § 449, 5, der auch das deutsche "wie ist dein Name?" vergleicht.

b) Auf *bene*, *male* folgen bei Diez Orts- und Zeitadv. Als sp. Beispiele gibt er: *la ciudad es lezos; es ya tarde*.

Ich wähle *circa*, *longe*: Appollonio 143 *Demostroé la via, ca bien*

<sup>1</sup> Die Form begegnet auch I 141 (*donbres*; im Munde des Bobo) und II 316 (*donbres*; zweimal; im Munde des Bobo). Sie ist den Beispielen für Dissimilation *n—n(m)> d—n(m)* anzureihen, die Schuchardt, ZrP V 305, gegeben. Was *denguno* anbetrifft, das an letzterer Stelle zitiert wird, so ist es nicht nur and. und ast., sondern ebenso häufig in Murcia (Canc. panocho 41. 43. 47. 52.); in Aragón (Lopez Allué, Capuletos y Montescos 100. 158. 163; Casañal Shakery. 333 Cantares baturros 65. 76. 80.); in Santander (Pereda, Escenas montañosas 273. 367. 418.); in Extremadura (Rev. Extremadura IV 366). Auch Munthe, ZrP XV 231, hat Schuchardts Erklärung "sehr annehmbar" gefunden. Er verweist darauf, dass "Combinationen wie nen nengun, sin nengun, en nengun der Dissimilation besonders förderlich sein mussten" und vergleicht sp. *péndola* = *pennola*. Schuchardts Erklärung passt gleichfalls für prov. *degun*, trotz Stimmling, ZrP XVIII 548.

açerqua hera. Buen. Prov. 36 *mando tomar un animalia el<sup>1</sup> (la h) que es mas cerca de la natura del omne*. 52. Corvacho 248 *çerca es ya el dia de la vuestra perdicion*. Mehr Beispiele bei Cuervo, Dicc. II 120.

F. Juzgo 34 b *si las testimonias, ó los parientes, ó los amigos . . . son muy luenne* (V.L. 34 Bex., E.R., Esc. 5 *muy longe*; Camp. *muy lonni*). 37 a *Si por ventura los omnes libres fueren luenne de la tierra*. 119 a *si el rey es luenne* (Malp. 2, Esc. 1 *luen*; Camp. *lonni*) *de la tierra*. Boc. Oro 110. Vida S. Maria Eg. 534 (die Heilige zu Maria) *mucho eres tu luenye de mi*. Prim. Crón. Gen. 33 b 30 *estonce era el rey aluen daquel lugar*. 34 b 3. Crón. S. Juan de la Peña 196 *Et el dito rey don Pedro qui no les era luent<sup>2</sup> . . . Marco Polo 57, 9 car la mar es luent solament una iornada*. Gestas D. Jayme 44 *era .iij. leguas luent dela ciudad*. 290 *Et el vido la ciudat, que no era luent vn trecho de ballesta del real*. Quatorze Romances judéo-espagnols, Rev. hisp. X 597, *la fuente era longe*. Gleichfalls sehr häufig.

Daran seien Beispiele für *primero* angereiht: Prim. Crón. Gen. 87 b 41 *Et primeramiente et en so cabo* (sc. ponemos) *los reyes, ca fueron primero . . . 48 Et contaremos luego de los reyes que fueron primero*. García-Arista, Cant. baturras 59 *la disciplina es primero*. Aber La Olla ast. 8 *los celos son lo primeru*.

c) Den Beschluss machen bei Diez die Adv. auf *-mente*. Seine Beispiele sind dem It., Prov., Afz. und Mhd. entnommen.

Dönne, Syntaktische Bemerkungen zu Don Juan Manuels Schriften, 1891, S. 10, sieht einen sp. Beleg in LCaza 2, 15 *enla caça ha estas quatro cosas muy conplida mente*. M.E. gehört das Adv. zu *ha*. Ich habe nur ein Beispiel notiert: Siete Part. I 34 *et asi como el mercado se face públicamente, asi ha de seer el fuero paladinamente et manefiesto* (*manifestado públicamente* Tol. 3; *paladino et manefiesto* Esc. 3, S.). Durchaus unsicher.

<sup>1</sup> Mask., etwa wegen *animal* oder wegen *el animalia*. Gewöhnlich Fem.: F. Juzgo 144 a. 145 a. Prim. Crón. Gen. 90 a 24. Libro de Enxemplos 464 b.

<sup>2</sup> Die ziemlich häufige, arag. Form ist seit Grimm, Gramm.<sup>2</sup> III 117, wohl kaum wieder zitiert worden. (Grimm erwähnt *luentes*, das ich nur als attributives Adj. kenne: Leyendas Mor. II 301 *nosotros somos de tierras luentes* [Hrsg. *lejanas*].) Borao hat die Form nicht, ebensowenig C. Michaëlis, Rom. Wortsch. 244. Ich erkläre mir das paragogische *t* durch den Einfluss der Adv. auf *-ment* (besonders *luengament* Gestas D. Jayme 171). Oder wäre *luent* "umgekehrte Schreibung" unter dem Einfluss von *ont—on, dont—don, aquent—aquen, allent—allen, adelant—adelan* Prim. Crón. Gen. 78 b 15, *orient* Prim. Crón. Gen. 12 b 12—*orien* 19, *mient—mien* Leyendas José 204 (Hrsg. *mientes*), etc. ?

d) Von grösserer Wichtigkeit als das Vorgebrachte scheint mir, dass die Adv. des Grades *poco, mucho, cuanto, tanto* prädikativ zu treten können, ein Gebrauch, an dem auch das It.<sup>1</sup> teilnimmt.

a) *poco*. Boc. Oro 364 *¡como es poco (poca p TV) la pro del mucho saber . . . !* Prim. Crón. Gen. 738 b 33 *Et pues tan poco (poco EI, poca SDM) es la vida deste mundo . . .* P. Alfonso XI 292 *Quiso Dios e su ventura, Que muy poco fue su vida.* S. Teresa (BAE LV) 57 b *poco es mi vida: muchas quisiera tener.* Autos II 200, 424 *la ofensa es tan grave mal qu'es poco pena eternal.* Canc. pancho 41 *Con la luna de Enero tiés semejanza, qu'es de tuisquias las lunas la qu'es más clara; yo m'anquivoco, el sol paece tu cara, la luna es poco.*— Adamo (Scelta 106) 21 *allora conobe Moisé che poco sarebe la sua vita.* 23 *Be' signori, la mia vita poco sará oggimai.* Altneapol. Regimen sanitatis 540 *e poco sia la toa ademurata.* Dazu bemerkt Mussafia S. 115: "statt prädic. Adj. oder *poco* adv. und *sia* als Verbum exist.: *poco* *sia* *la toa ademurata* 'sei gering, dauere wenig.'"

Dagegen: S. Domingo (S.) 494 *poca es la mi vida.* Boc. Oro 105 *la vida deste mundo es tan poca que . . .* Canc. d'Herberay (Gallardo I) 545 *Porque es poca mi vida.* Lope de Rueda (CLER) II 277 *poca es mi vida.*

Wären alle Beispiele der Art S. Teresa 57 b *poco es mi vida* oder Boc. Oro 364 *¡como es poco la pro del mucho saber . . . !* d. h. ginge überall das Prädikat dem Subjekt voran, so könnte man von Nichtkongruenz eines prädikativen Adjektivs im Geschlecht sprechen, und die Erklärung wäre dieselbe, welche Tobler, V.B. I 234, für *As matines, as heures dur leur est li levee*, G Muis. II 81, etc. gegeben. S. auch Stimming, Bueve de Hantone (GRL XXV) 408. Für Entsprechendes im It. verweist Tobler auf Blanc S. 502 und Mussafia "über Fanfanis Decameron."<sup>2</sup> Gleicher Art sind die folgenden sp.

<sup>1</sup> Was vor mehr als zwanzig Jahren zu "Beiträgen zur historischen italienischen Syntax" von mir gesammelt wurde, mag jetzt im Gefolge sp. Beispiele ein bescheidenes Plätzchen finden.

<sup>2</sup> *ser* = dauern: Alex. 2485 (Morel-Fatio 2614) *Quanto el mundo sea nunca nos iuntaremos.* Prim. Crón. Gen. 316 b 33 *quanto sea el mundo.* Autos II 66, 129 *si la fuese la vida* 73, 347 *si la vida me fuese.*

<sup>3</sup> Mussafia's Arbeit ist mir nicht zugänglich. Zu Blanc seien hinzugefügt: Sercambi (Scelta 119) 55 . . . *Gherardino Spinora, a cui dato fu per moglie una bellissima donna.* S. Guglielmo (Scelta 159) 46 *Et Guglielmo non obstante questa fuese la seconda volta, che gli fusse apparso la vergine pretiosa . . .* Faceste del s. XV e XVI (Scelta 138) 65 *Era auto tolto a' Fiorentini Seresana per tradimento . . . (et per la recuperatione della quale, da Ferrando re di Napoli . . . era auto loro promessa ogni loro opera).* 87 *gli fu dato in mano una bachelletta suida.*



Fälle von Nichtkongruenz des prädikativen Adjectivs in der Zahl: S. Teresa (BAE LV) 25 b *General han sido estas tercianas*. Familia de Alvareda (CEC, 1893) 344 *Bendito sean estos ojos, esta boquita, estas manitas*.

Aber wir haben auch Canc. panocho 41 *la luna es poco*, Adamo 23 *la mia vita poco sard oggimai* etc. Die Diskrepanz kann also nicht von der Stellung von *poco* etc. herrühren. Auch werden *poco* etc. keine Adjektiva sein. Was dann? Etwa substantivierte Neutra wie *triste* in Vergils *triste lupus stabulis* (Schmalz § 40 a)? Grammatisch stände einer solchen Auffassung nichts entgegen. Allein mir scheint, die romanischen Sprachen greifen in den vorliegenden Fällen, um den Gedanken "ein Geringes, etwas Geringes, etc." auszudrücken, überwiegend<sup>1</sup> zur Umschreibung mit *causa*. So heisst es z. B. Balbo, Storia d'Italia 2, 1 (Vockeradt § 356, 4) *Roma fù poca cosa dapprima*. Wie dem auch sei, ich bin eher geneigt, in *poco* etc. das Adverb zu sehen. Eine solche Auffassung dünkt mich ungezwungener. Zum Gebrauch bei *ser* wird der Umstand beigetragen haben, dass erstens *poco* etc. in der alten Sprache in weiterem Umfang verwandt werden, und dass sie zweitens so häufig zum Verbum treten statt zu dem Adjektiv oder Adverb, das sie näher bestimmen.

ß) *mucho*. P. Alfonso XI 199 *Ssy mucho fuer la ssu vida*. Dagegen Celestina (1501) 73 *no es mucha su vida*. 109.

γ) *cuanto*. F. Navarra V *Quoanto es la pecha que es clamada azaguerico*. *Quoanto es la pecha que es clamado(!) basto*. *Quoanto es la pecha que es clamada alfonsadera*. (So das Inhaltsverzeichnis; der Text liest in den beiden letzten Fällen (S. 53 b) *Quoanta es la pecha . . .*) XIII *Quoanto deve ser la bustalizia*. (So auch der Text [S. 128 a]; dagegen z. B. IV *Quoanta deve ser la zena del Rey* etc.)—Specchio dei Peccatori (Scelta 73) 8 *vuole Iddio che tu cognosci quanto è la tua fragilità*. Adamo (Scelta 106) 20 *io vi voglio mostrare quanto è la sua potenza*. Paradiso degli Alberti III (Scelta 88) 175 *Quanto fosse la velenosa e pestifera rabbia tra guelfi e ghibellini . . . , non bisogna narrare*.

*qué tanto*=*cuanto*. Libros de Astr. III 79 *sabe qué tanto es la altura del sol*. Dagegen kurz zuvor *cata si ouier la cipdat en que tú*

<sup>1</sup> Selten dürften Beispiele wie die folgenden sein: Fernan Caballero, Cuadros de Costumbres (CAE) 200 *Pues un imposible es que vuelva Gabriel*.—Paradiso degli Alberti III (Scelta 88) 129 *parendogli uno impossibile quello che veduto auera*.

*tomas la altura. ladeza ó non. et si la ouier. sabe qué tanta es et su parte. Dann 92 cata . . . qué tanta es su ladeza. etc.*

δ) *tanto*. Sp. Belege fehlen mir. Ein it. Beispiel ist *Novelle antiche* (Scelta 93) 128 *e fue tanto la paura, ch'ella lasciò lie uno suo mantello.*

e) *tanto-cuanto*.

1. Buen. Prov. 6 *Quien te mester a, es su cobdicia atanto quanto (como h) te a mester. Libros de Astr. III 79 et si fuer (sc. la altura) tanto cuemo la mayor altura dell yguador . . . Ib. et si non fuer la altura tanto cuemo la mayor altura . . . Ib. la su declinacion será tanto cuemo la ladeza de la uilla. 80 cata en quál dia será la altura del sol . . . tanto cuemo la mayor altura dell yguador. Dagegen 95 la ladeza de la uilla es tanta cuemo la longura de la estrella.*

2. F. Juzgo 26 *a deve pechar cada uno al rey tanto quanto era la demanda. 27 a aquel iuez que envió sus letras deve tomar cerca si tanto de sus cosas daquel iuez á quien envió sus letras, si las pudiere fallar, quanto era la demanda (M. quanto podie valer la demanda). F. Brihuega 136 el sennor de la casa desafie. et coia calonnas : quanto fuere la part del querelloso.*

#### VI. FORMEN DES PRÄS. IND. IN DER FUNKTION EINES IMPERATIVS

Verweise für den lat. Gebrauch in der Vulgata und bei Kirchenschriftstellern giebt Blase in Landgraf, *Hist. Gramm.* III, 1, 250 Anm. 3. Zur Literatur wäre nachzutragen Vollmöller, *Krit. Jahresber.* I 44.

Gröber, *Grundr.* I 302, heisst es: "Auch der mit einer Ausdrucksweise sich verbindende Ton bewirkt Erweiterung der Funktion. Er macht z. B. die Aussageform des Verbums zur heischenden, imperativischen. Die Tätigkeit, die vom zum Gehorsam Verpflichteten ausgeführt werden soll, wird im Futurum als eine im bestimmten Zeitpunkt wirklich zur Ausführung gelangende bezeichnet (*à Charlemagne irez*, Rol., =ihr werdet, eig. ihr habt zu, gehen; so auch süddeutsch), oder bei dringlicherer Heischung wie eine angesichts des Redenden sich schon vollziehende ausgesprochen (*chantez, chantons, faites* =cantatis cantamus facitis). Auf solchem Wege wurde im Französischen der Imperativ der zweiten Pers. Pl. (lat. cantate) beseitigt."

Vom französischen Gebrauch (*vous chantez = chantez*) handelt Mätzner, Syntax I 62, 65; Gramm. 314; vom italienischen Vockeradt § 224, 2; vom portugiesischen Moreira, Rev. lus. XII 205: "Com valor equivalente ao do imperativo emprega-se algumas vezes o presente do indicativo, como quando se manda um criado nestes termos: 'Tu *vaes* por aqui adeante; ao fim d'esta rua *vollas á esquerda*, *procuras a casa n.º 20 e entregas lá esta carta*;" vom deutschen etwa Blatz, Nhd. Gramm.<sup>3</sup> II 537.

Hier einige span. Beispiele: Echegaray, *Ó Locura ó Santidad* I 2 Áng[ela] . . . *Vas allá, y le suplicas y le ruegas*. Lor[enzo]. *¡Yo suplicar! ¡Yo rogar!* . . . I 5 *Vete . . . Vete . . . Si no son las dos todavía . . . Si faltan quince minutos . . . Te vas á la Carrera de San Jerónimo; das un paseo mirando la gente, y á las dos en punto vuelves*. El Hijo de Don Juan I 4 *Mientras se ventila la habitación, te quedas<sup>1</sup> quietecita detrás de esta cortina . . . (Colocándola detrás del cortinaje de la derecha.) Quietecita, ¿eh? . . . En seguida entrarás*. II 2 *Bueno, bueno . . . si ya pasó . . . en fin, cuando vuelva mi madre, me avisa usted*. El loco Dios II 3 Doña Andrea. *¿Y no la digo (=soll ich sagen) nada de tu parte? Paco. Sí . . . La dices . . . algo triste . . . algo tierno . . . algo nuevo . . .* III 2 *Mira, lo que has de hacer es buscar á Gabriel y le indicas algo de lo que pasa*. Blasco, *Cuent. arag.* I 4 (aus einem Gespräch zwischen einem Verliebten, der nicht weiss, wie er um die Hand seiner Angebeteten anhalten soll, und dem Ratgeber)—*Le compras á la chica un regalo cualquiera, algo que le cumpla.—¡Un chuflete!—Eso es pa los niños pequeños. Una cosa que le guste.—Un frasco de aceite de hígado é bacalao, qu'icén que es muy bueno pa las jóvenes.—Bueno, allá tú. Y te vas á casa de tu novia cuando estén todos juntos.—¡A la hora é cenar!—Y allí, con habilidad, "con idea", hablas de unas cosas y de otras, y de cosas que tengan relación con la chica ó con el santo matrimonio, y en una de estas revueltas le dices al tío Andrés: "Pues con este motivo, aprovecho la ocasión pa decirle á usté que si está usté conforme, yo quiero á la muchacha . . ."* 12 (D. Simón, ein Jäger, der gern aufschneidet, zu Juan, seinem Diener) *desde esta noche vas á venir á la tertulia de la botica, y cuando yo te pregunte si es verdad lo que digo, respondes que sí. ¿Qué te cuesta?* El Tiu Xuan 51 (Xuan zu José) *Dáila* (sc. la

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Götz von Berlichingen III Georg, Du bleibst um mich.

carta) y que conteste, y si después que la llea i conoces que ñon va venir elli acá, vas enseguida, ¡pero á escape!, á Pedro el de Xico y que jaga el favor de venir al galope . . . y si conoces que el indianu va á venir, entonces dices á Pedro que venga como á les doce, pa que ñon encuentre equí al otro. Ve en pelu del diablu, ¡cuerrri! Ib. (der Alguacil zu Xuan) Sí, pero todavía tengo que citar. Xuan. Cítas después.

Im folgenden Beispiel schliesst sich an einen Imp. ein Präs. Ind. an: Rev. Aragón III (1902) 23 a— ¡Antonio!—Mande el señor.—Márchate en un momentito, y me compras una mano de papel, que no sea fino. Und umgekehrt: El Tiu Xuan 51 (Xuan zu José) Vas á casa de Francisco el indianu y dai esta carta; toma.

Es ist kein Grund abzusehen, warum das Spanische nicht auch negative Sätze wie die deutschen: Du sagst ihm nichts von unserer Verabredung.—Du hörst nicht auf ihn etc. gebildet haben könnte. Doch fehlen mir sichere Belege.

#### EINZELHEITEN

Auffällig ist das häufige Vorkommen von *vas*.<sup>1</sup>

##### 1. a) *vas*

Celestina (1501) 68 O vieja Celestina, vas alegre! sabete que la meytad esta hecha, quando tienen buen principio las cosas! . . . (in der dritten Zeile darauf) Pues alegrate, vieja, . . . (Mabbe [Fitzmaurice-Kelly, 100] übersetzt: "O thou old Celestina; cheere up thy heart, and thinke with thy selfe . . ."). Blasco, Cuent. arag. I 31 ¡Mañana te vas al cuartel! Caveda 275 Pe la man derecha Vas á los Pilares Y después non pares Fasta la ciudad. Munthe, Folkpoesi frân Asturien I 112, 66 No te asustes, Gerineldo, que has de hacer lo que yo te digo: baste por estos jardines cuchiendo rosas y lirios. Dazu die Anm.: "=vaste, imperativiskt" und Hinweis auf das folgende Beispiel. 117, 9 ¡Baste, Narbolina, baste, bas parir al Balledal! II 36, 284 Anda, baste por el mundo que el mundo te dará el pago. 39, 338 Anda, baste, que no buelbas. III 55, I Palumbina blanca, baste que hace frío.

<sup>1</sup> Und nicht bloss im Span. Drei afz. Beispiele (s. xi-xii) unter vier (bez. 5) bei Englaender, Der Imperativ im Altfranz., 1889, 11 (für Jourd 777 l. 1777). Ich füge hinzu Allscans (1903) 5471 Sire Bertran, ne t'en vas mersillant! Alart de Caus, Hist. litt. XXIII 523 Hé! serventois, arriere t'en revas, Droit en Artois ne te vas atarjant, Et ma dame si me salueras, Qui tant est douce.

Für den verneinten Imp. kann ich mich auf Cuervo, *Apuntaciones* § 258, berufen: “. . . *Hombre, no vas allá, dice casi todo el mundo granadino, en lugar de ‘no vayas.’* (Don Ulpiano González.)”

b) *vamos*

Plur. 1 erscheint in der alten Sprache häufig genug als *vayamos*: C. Cid<sup>1</sup> 208 *vayamos priuado*. 676 *Vayamos los ferir*. 1531 *Vayamos posar*. 2226 *vayamos Recabdando*. etc. *Sacrificio* 263. *Milagros* 425. *Alex.* 378. 649. 1574. 1693. *Prim. Crón. Gen.* 164 b 44. 193 a 26. etc. *Carlos Maynes* (NBAE VI) 529 a b. 531 a. *J. Ruiz* 1181. 1398. *Libro de los Enxemplos* (BAE LI) 506 b. *Iosaphat* 357.

Wenigstens seit dem Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts findet sich *vamos*: *Plácidas* 129 *Ora vamos toste demandar el santo bautismo de los christianos*. *Rrey Guillelme* 180 *Ora vamos en el nonbre de Dios, e Dios nos guye*. 235 *Dixieron ellos*: “*Vamos e amostrárvoslas hemos.*” *Dixo el rrey*: “*Vamos . . .*” *Florencia* 438 *vámonos ayna, ca mucho avemos de andar*. 451 *Vamos, dixo él, contra ella* (sc. la fada).

Zum verneinten Imp. habe ich angemerkt: *Libro de los Enxemplos* (BAE LI) 531 b *dijo el su compannero*: “*Non vamos por este camino . . .*” *Gil Vicente* [Böhl de Faber] 47 *Id vosotros al lugar muy presto, carillos míos, y no vamos tan vacíos, traed algo que le dar*. *Torres Naharro II* 25 *No nos vamos sin hablalle*. *Barahona de Soto* 358 *No vamos uno de otro dividido*. Dazu die Anm.: “*Vamos, por vayamos*. Era cosa frecuente en el siglo XVI.”

c) *vades* (*vais*)

*Amadís* 194 a *Dueña, á Dios vais*.<sup>2</sup> *Romance, Gallardo I* 1216 *Vades con Dios, nuestro hijo, Y él vos quiera encaminar; Vais con nuestra bendicion*. *Primavera I* 226 *Vais con Dios, Hernan Rodrigo, luego vos queráis tornar*. *II* 227 *Con Dios vades, los romeros, que no os puedo nada dar*. *Torres Naharro II* 160 *Vais en buen hora*. *Diego Sanchez de Badajoz I* 155 *Fraile. Con gracia de Dios quedad*. *Clér-[igo]*. *Vades con Dios soberano*. *Salamantina* 461 *Hijo mio, vays con Dios*. *Autos I* 57, 180 *Norabuena vais, gañan*. 366, 261 *Yd, pues norabuena vays (:mandais:veays), Dios os encamine en bien*.

<sup>1</sup> Ich zitiere fortan nach der Edition paleográfica, 1911.

<sup>2</sup> Daneben 249 b *A Dios vayaís, dijo don Grumedan*. 264 b. Ob Valdés diese Form im Auge hat, wenn er (*Diál. de la Lengua* 390, 27) sagt: “*El que compuso a Amadís de Gaula huelga mucho de dezir vaís por vais, a mí no me contenta*”?

III 443, 497 *Mi hijo, en buen hora vais (:mandais:detengais)*. Timoneda (BAE III) 179 b *A la senectud (sc. decia): enhorabuena vais*. D. Quixote I 35 *A Dios vays, señor, dixo Anselmo. Con el quedeys, respondió el ciudadano*. II 26 *vays en paz, o par sin par de verdaderos amantes*.

Beispiele des verneinten Imperativs sind: Crón. rim. 985 *Quedo, dize, los reynos, non vos vades coylando*. Santillana 471 *Dize: "Non vades sennera, Señora . . ."* Corvacho 211 *desaventurada, venid acá, non vades allá*. Primavera II 411 *No vades allá, el buen rey, buen rey, non vades allá*. Lucas Fernandez 99 *N'os vais tan desconsolada*. Torres Naharro II 70 *Por Dios, no vais*. La lozana Andaluza 288 *Vení acá, Lozana, no os vais*. Diego Sanchez de Badajoz I 143 *Esperá, padre, no os vais (:nojais)*. Salamantina 1383 *No vays tan apresurado*. Lope de Rueda I (1895) 156 *no vais tan alborotado, seguid . . .* Horozco 203 a *andaos aquí en compañía y junta con mis criadas, y no vais á otras segadas*. Autos II 409, 194 *No vais, hijo, a casa agena; no's partais de Betania*. Lope de Sosa [1603] (Gallardo IV) 635 *No! vais de aquí, doncella*. Tirso (BAE V) 459 a *Esperad, no os vais*. Quevedo (BAE LXIX) 501 b *No os vais, detened el paso*. 513 b *No os vais, comeréis cocina*.

d) Bello § 582 (267) sagt: "En el presente de subjuntivo tiene bastante uso la síncope *vamos, vais*: 'Os suplico con todo encarecimiento que os vais y me dejéis' (Cervantes). En el modo optativo no se dice nunca *vayamos*, sino *vamos*." Cuervo, Nota 81 (S. 88), verweist dazu auf *vades* "como optativo" in Primavera II 227 (s. oben 1 c) und auf *vais* in D. Quixote II 26 (s. oben 1 c). Weitere Beispiele für *vamos, vais* als Subj. im Nebensatz in der Prosa des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts bei Cirot, Bull. hisp. XIII 83. Ich füge hinzu:

a) Encina 82 *¿Quereis que vamos allá?* 98 *Antes que vamos de aquí*. 354. Lucas Fernandez 71. Torres Naharro I 334 *Mas mejor es que nos vamos*. 363 *¿Tú quieres, cuerpo de mí, Que vamos á las migajas?* II 24 *será bien que nos vamos, Y tambien que proveamos . . .* Diego Sanchez de Badajoz I 427 *¿Quieres que á misa nos vamos?* Autos I 39, 115. III 15, 424 *bueno sera que nos vamos*. IV 36, 228 *cunple que vamos alla*.

ß) Florencia 393 *ruego uos que me la vades demandar*. Encina 244 *Mejor será que os vais d'hí*. 284 *Antes os ruego que os vais*.

350. Gil Vicente 85 *La merced que nos hareis, siendo huérfanas, señor, y sin madre, que os vais y nos dejeis . . .* Torres Naharro I 233 *Para que vais más contentos . . .* 251 *Quiero que vais en galera.* Diego Sanchez de Badajoz II 12. Lope de Rueda I 25 *Y es menester que . . . vais al arroyo, y saqueis mi cuerpo.* Horozco 18 *a muy bien será que no os vais* (vgl. 19 b *y será bien que dexemos*). 49 b *digos . . . que mireis por el pellejo y os vais vro. paso á paso.* 190 b *yo os mando que luego vais.* 194 a *Conviene que luego vais.* Autos I 81, 434 *Delbora, es mi voluntad que vais con mi hija.* 443, 193 *lo que suplico es que os vais.* II 283, 120. Aparicio (Gallardo I) 222 *Á decirnos y her saber Que atendaís ó que os vais.*

Bellos Ansicht, es seien *vamos*, *vais* synkopierte Formen für *vayamos*, *vayais*, ist nicht unmöglich. Bei so häufig gebrauchten Formen hätte Synkope nahe gelegen. Aber dasselbe könnte man dann z. B. von (alt) *trayamos* erwarten.

Cuervo hat sich m. W. nirgends über die Entstehung dieser *vamos*, *vais* ausgesprochen. Wohl aber über *vas*. Nach der oben (1 a) angeführten Stelle fährt er fort: "Del mismo pie que la anterior (sc. no vas allá) cojean estas frases: 'siento que te vas'; 'me alegro de que te vas.' . . ."

Este uso de la forma *vas* como subjuntiva procede ciertamente del empleo autorizado de *vamos*, *vais*, en iguales circunstancias, como se ve en [el] lugar de Cervantes, citado por Bello (*Gram.*, § 267 [s. oben 1 d]) . . ." In einer Anm. hierzu bemerkt Cuervo: "Véase un ejemplo curioso en el *Quijote*, *pte II, cap. XXVI* [s. oben 1 c].—*Vas*, *i*, están en realidad por *vais*, *id.* Véase §§ 265. 266."

Beginnen wir mit *i*. "¿poniendo los platos, dicen las mujeres, cuando menos malo sería *vé poniendo*" heisst es zu Anfang desselben § 258. *i* ist also Imp. Sing. und der Verweis auf § 266, der von *mirá=mirad* etc. handelt, wohl ein Versehen. Wie ich mir dies *i* erkläre, ist Mod. Lang. Notes XXVII 170 gesagt.

Auch dass *vas* 2 für *vais* stehe, glaube ich nicht. Der Verweis auf § 265 betrifft *vais* 5. Dies hätte gewiss zu *vas* werden können, wie z. B. *presumáis>presumás*, Lucas Fernandez 20. (Cuervo hat kein Beispiel; ich auch nicht.) Aber wo ist *vais* 2 belegt?

Menéndez Pidal äussert sich zur Frage Manual § 116, 5 (S. 212): "vadam dió el analógico † *vaya* ó el etimológico arcaico y raro *vaa*,



*vaas* [mir unbekannt], *vaamos*, etc. [?], que en la lengua común se usó sólo en Nos y Vos, 'hacedme merced que os vais', y aun hoy en frases optativas *vamos!*" Und Cantar 267: "Son analógicos: *vayas* 2620 . . . en vez del etimológico '*vaa*' F Avilés 19, '*vaamos*' Alex 1252, que en los siglos XVI y XVII se decía '*vamos, vades, vais*'."

Aber *vaamos* < *vadamus* ist mir keineswegs sicher. Morel-Fatio 1393 liest *vañamos*. *vaamos* der Hs. O ist eher aus *vayamos* entstanden. Ausfall von -y- nach a, o kommt in dieser Hs. in nicht wenigen Fällen vor: *maores* 9. 198 (M.-F. 9. 204 *mañores*). *maor* 76. 172. 243. 292 (M.-F. 86. 178. 250 *mañor*. 299 *mejor*). *maor-miente* 115 (M.-F. 127 *mayor mente*). *Mao* 1630 (M.-F. 1772 *maño*). *Audól* 1197 (M.-F. 1337 *ayudol*). *Troa* 299 (M.-F. 306 *Troja*). *poal* 2374 (M.-F. 2502 *pojal*). *poales* 2416 (M.-F. 2544 *poñales*). Und auch anderwärts. Hier nur noch ein Beispiel für den Ausfall von -y- nach u: F. Juzgo 145 V.L. 26 B.R. 1 *fuos* (S.B.; Esc. 4; 6; E.R. *fojos*—Text *fuyos*). Doch tritt dieser Ausfall auf beschränktem Gebiet auf; nicht in Kastilien. Bis ein *vaamos* hier nachgewiesen, muss ich *vamos* < *vaamos* ablehnen.

Ich selber möchte folgende Erklärung vorschlagen. Da zu *vamos, vades* der Inf. *ir* lautet, konnten jene Formen leicht für Subj. III angesehen werden. Und besonders zu einer Zeit und an einem Ort, wo neben *vamos, vades* noch *imos, ides* standen, was Proportionen wie *vivimos: vivamos = imos: vamos* und *vivides: vivades = ides: vades* nahelegte.<sup>1</sup> Diese "Subj." wurden zunächst im Nebensatz, dann im Hauptsatz verwandt. Eine strenge Unterscheidung zwischen *vamos* und *vayamos* etc. in der Schriftsprache ist erst eingetreten, als *imos, ides (is)* in dieser ausser Gebrauch kamen. Doch blieb *vamos* als positiver Optativ.

Dann aber gehören weder 1 b noch 1 c in dieses Kapitel, das natürlich nur von solchen Formen handeln soll, die für den Sprechenden Indikativformen sind. Auch über *no vas* (1 a) sind Zweifel berechtigt. Dagegen dürften sich einwandfreie Belege für *vais = id* und zwar aus neuerer Zeit beibringen lassen.

<sup>1</sup> Das Aragonesische ist weiter gegangen und hat zu *imos* ein *amos* gebildet, das aber auf den Hauptsatz beschränkt ist: Blasco, Cuent. arag. I 3 *Vaya, chico, amos d bebenos medio cántaro é vino d casa . . .* Ib. *¡Amos d ver qué moño es esto!* 9 *Amos, que son unas lambrotas (lambroto = gloton, Boraio).* 16 *Ahora li visto; muy cachorro es pa nosotros; pegueñico, pocho; amos, un arguelluz (=respectivo de arguellido, B. 22).* *¡Amos, calla, calla, que como hables así, te voy a matar . . .* ! Ib. *¡amos, que yo no aguanto más!* 27 *¡Amos d dales de cenar d escotel etc.*

2. *ves, vedes (veis)*

Wie nahe in der Bedeutung sich häufig *ves, vedes (veis)* und *ve, ved* stehen, lässt sich auf verschiedene Weise darlegen. Unter augenscheinlich denselben Umständen wird das eine Mal eine indikative Form gebraucht, das andere Mal eine imperative. Man vergleiche, wie der Autor des *Corvacho* seine Schilderung der sieben Todsünden beschliesst: 85 *Pues vees aquí el primero mortal pecado cometydo . . .* 86 *Pues veste aquí el segundo pecado mortal cometydo . . .* 88 *Por ende vee aquí cómo el que ama en pecado de envidia le conuiene de pecar.* 92 *Pues ves aquí cómo el sexto mortal pecado se comete . . .* 93 *Pues vee aquí cómo el septimo pecado mortal comete el que . . .* Oder die Vorstellung eines Ritters im *Amadís*: 39 a *Entonces le tomó por la mano é fuese donde la Reina estaba é djole: "Ved aquí el fijo del rey Perion de Gaula."*—*Si me Dios salve, Señor, dijo ella, yo he mucho placer . . .* 71 b *Amadís fincó los hinojos ante la Reina, tomando á Galaor por la mano, é dijo: "Señora, veis aquí el caballero que me enviastes á buscar.—Mucho soy dello alegre," dijo ella. etc.*

Gegenüber einer imperativen Form der einen Hs. eines Textes haben andere eine indikative: Lucanor (Knust) 56, 18 *Et una de las perdizes que estava biva en la rred començo a dezir a las otras: "Vet (vedes MAGg), amigas, lo que faze este omne! . . ."*

In zahlreichen Fällen sind dann *ves, vedes (veis)* von den Übersetzern als Imp. aufgefasst worden. So z. B. *Celestina* 55 *Veslo* (sc. el hilado) *aquí en madexitas* = Mabbe 82 *Looke you (Lady) on some of the same in skaines.* 71 *O desuariado, negligente! veslos* (sc. Sempronio und *Celestina*) *venir . . .* = M. 105 *O thou carelesse absurd Asse; . . . See them comming . . .* 173 *ves allí a la que tu pariste* = M. 280 *looke out and beholde her, whom thou broughtst forth.* D. *Quixote* I 17 *ves aquí tengo el santissimo balsamo* = Ormsby (Fitzmaurice-Kelly) I 120 *see, here I have the blessed balsam* = Braunfels (Spemann) I 170 *Sieh, hier habe ich den benedeiten Balsam.* I 28 *ves aquí te doy la mano* = O. II 44 *see here I give you my hand.* II 41 *pero veis aquí, quando a deshora entraron por el jardin quatro saluages* = O. IV 10 *But lo! suddenly there came into the garden four wild-men* = B. IV 28 *Aber siehe da traten urplötzlich vier wilde Männer in den Garten.* II 50 *y veis aquí donde esta buena señora, con ser Duquessa, me llama amiga* = O. IV 72 *And see here how this good lady, for all she's*

a duchess, calls me "friend" = B. IV 98 Aber sieh mir einer da die gute Herrschaft an; wiewohl sie eine Herzogin ist, heisst sie mich ihre Freundin. II 52 *veis aquí a deshora entrar por la puerta de la gran sala dos mugeres* = O. IV 83 *lo and behold suddenly there came in through the door of the great hall two women* = B. IV 112 siehe da traten unversehens zur Thüre des grossen Saals zwei Frauen herein. etc.

Ohne dass immer Einstimmigkeit herrschte: D. Quixote I 8 *Porque ves allí amigo Sancho Pança, donde se descubren treynta, o pocos mas desaforados Gigantes* = O. I 58 *for look there, friend Sancho Panza, where thirty or more monstrous giants present themselves* = B. I 97 denn dort siehst du, Freund Panza, wie dreissig Riesen oder noch etliche mehr zum Vorschein kommen.

a) *ves* statt *ve*

Torres Naharro I 422 *Va<sup>1</sup>, ves quién llama, Mira por entre las puertas*. Wohl auch in den gleichfalls nicht häufigen Fällen, wo *ves*, durch die Konjunkzion *y* einem andern Imp. koordiniert, diesem folgt: Novelas ej. (Bibl. Rom. 41–44) 37 *Cántale, Preciosa, y ves aquí mis cuatro cuartos*.

Die Entstehung dieses Gebrauchs denke ich mir so. Überaus häufig treffen wir auf *ves* ohne nominales Objekt. Auch handelt es sich keineswegs immer um Gegenstände der sinnlichen Wahrnehmung, worauf die Aufmerksamkeit gelenkt wird. Hier ein paar Beispiele: Libro de Exemplos (Rom. VII) 518 *Ves aquí, este omne te do por el e aue piedat de mi e torname mi fijo*. Encina 243 *Ves, acá ven la llangosta*. Celestina 14 *Ves? Mientras mas me dizes y mas inconuenientes me pones, mas la quiero* (Mabbe 29 übersetzt: "Thou seest the more thou tell'st me . . ."). Torres Naharro I 253 *No le des tú esa palmada. Ves aquí: Ni l'has de hacer así, Ni tú no l'has de reir*. 284 *Á la fe que ya ibas bien. Pero ¿ves? Has de levantar los piés Y echarte como á nadar*. Diego Sanchez de Badajoz I 380 *¿Ves? vienen los galloferos*. II 19 *¿Ves? la* (sc. la hija) *traen por las manos*. Autos III 114, 792 *Juan, propon tu la quiston, que ves viene Fide Ypsa; ten muy firme el coraçon*. etc. Man beachte die verschiedene Interpunkzion seitens der Herausgeber, selbst der spanischen. Doch sehe ich keinen Grund dafür und möchte überall ursprünglich eine

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ZrP XXXV 172 Anm. 3.

(rhetorische) Frage annehmen. Wie aber Imme, Die Fragesätze II 37, betreffs der Verba der sinnlichen Wahrnehmung, insbesondere der des Sehens und Hörens, ausführt, "[tritt] die Frage als solche in allen diesen Frageformeln sehr leicht völlig hinter dem Wunsche zurück, die Aufmerksamkeit des Andern zu erregen." Vom Wunsch zur Aufforderung ist in den vorliegenden Fällen nur ein Schritt. War man aber einmal gewohnt, mit *ves*, das nachgrade zur Interjektion geworden, den Begriff der Aufforderung zu verbinden, so konnte es wohl auch dort sich eindrängen, wo die Grammatik den Imp. *ve* forderte.

b) *vedes (veis)* statt *ved*

Crón. rim. (Duran) 190 *desmanparó á Castellanos. E vedes por qual rrason<sup>1</sup>: porque era Leon cabeza de los rreynados.* Prim. Crón. Gen. 130 b 26 e *Nero quisolo bien . . . : lo uno, por aquellas cosas mismas: lo otro, por que se lo merecie el: lo al por un plazer quel fizo una uegada; et vedes qual: Mando Nero llegar todos los ioglares en el teatro, et . . . Florençia 393 ruego uos que me la (sc. Florençia) vades demandar, ca me es muy menester. Védes ¿por qué?<sup>2</sup> . . . Yo só viejo, et flaco, et . . .*

Koordiniert einem andern Imp. durch *y* und ihm folgend: La lozana Andaluza 319 *Señora Lozana, ensalmános estos encordios, y veis aquí esta espada y estos estafiles, vendeldos vos para melecinas.* Oder asyndetisch ihm folgend: La lozana Andaluza 192 *Tomá, veis ahí un par de ducados, y hacé que sea la cosa de sola signatura.* 289 *Pues ésta quiero yo, y pagalda, veis aquí los dineros, y envidá por una bota de vino.* 294 *Esperá, Lozana, que otra paga será ésta que no la suya, veis ahí seis ducados, y llamá dos mozos que . . .*

Interjekzional: Lucas Fernandez 54 *Pues ¿veis veis? aunque me veis Un poco braguibajuelo, Ahotas que os espanteis . . . Torres Naharro I 290 ¡Veis aquí! ¿Quereis saber si es anst? 300 agora os mostraré Como no vengo á burlarme. ¿Veis aquí? Pues entre nos es anst Que . . . La lozana Andaluza 78 ¿Veis aquí? querria vender esta joya. 183 Veis, aquí viene el malogrado de vuestro criado. 315 Veis,*

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Prim. Crón. Gen. 196 a 34 *et uino (sc. Costantino) pora Espanna a librar la dunas yentes de barbaros que la tenien apremiada; et oyt en qual manera.* D. h. *ver = oir*, wie auch in den beiden folgenden Beispielen und oft anderwärts und kein "incredible blunder," wie Crane, Mod. Lang. Not. XXVII 115, meint.

<sup>2</sup> Hrs.: "¿ Védes por qué?"

viene madona Pelegrina. Diego Sanchez de Badajoz II 97 Isaac. *Las manos de Esaú son.* Past[or]. *Veis, tambien mienten las manos.* 151 *Veis, veis, ya la* (sc. Santa Susana) *van asir.* 189 *Veis, veis, no lo digo yo, Questa vieja bien parece Que con muchos fornicó . . .* 230 *¿ Veis? aquí vien la lechuza.* 270 *Ó mi Dios, Dios infinito, Veis, asoma por acá Una que mira, mira, Que se me añuega el esprito. ¡O qué dama singular! Veis, veis, que se quier sentar . . .* 282 *Veis vienen del otro vando Caballeros principales.* Timoneda I (1911) 494 *Señora, veys? aquí está este bien aventurado que . . .*

### 3. oyes, oye V.

a) oyes. Foerster, ZrP XXVIII 497, möchte *Os*, Aucassin 22, 15; 24, 40, "als Frage auffassen und daher ein ? danach setzen." Nach Suchier, ZrP XXX 515, dem ich beistimme, wurde *os* nicht "mehr als Verbalform, sondern nur noch als ein erstarter Ausruf gefühlt." Crescini, Man. prov.<sup>3</sup> 161, verweist für einen Ind. Sing. = Imp. auf "*aus tu* (*aus*=*audis*), '*odi tu*,' delle *carte e dei diplom.*" Meyer-Lübke III § 117 stellt zu afz. *oz*, in welchem er einen Ind. sieht, der dem Befehle dient, "*aportg. ouues tu, caualleyro andante* (Graall 45)."

Wenn Timoneda einmal (I 192) sagt: *Compañero, oyes, di: ¿vendeslas de cierto?* und dann (I 384): *Flabio señor, oye, di: traes aquello?* so sind für ihn *oyes* und *oye* im betreffenden Ausdruck gleichbedeutend.

Wenigstens einen Fall habe ich notiert, wo gegenüber *oyes* des Textes die V.L. *oye* liest: Encina 205 *Pues oyes, Cardonio, tus sesos aviva.*

Auch ein Beispiel, wo *oyes* und ein folgender Imp. koordiniert sind: Cruz, Sainetes inéd. 285 *Oyes . . . . Y avísame en siendo la hora para el sainete.*

Interjekzional. Unter den vielen Beispielen, die mir zur Verfügung stehen, wähle ich hier die, in welchen auf *oyes* ein Gebot oder Verbot folgt: Encina 204 *Oyes, Fileno, tus dichos honesta.* La lozana Andaluza 134 *Oyes, Madalena, no abras á nadie.* Timoneda I 134 *Oyes, mozo: quítarás aquellos fuelles qu'están al sereno.* Alonso de la Vega 56 *Oyes, Talancon, baste ya.* [Bonilla,] Entremeses del Siglo XVII 89 *¡Oyes, oyes, mi bien! ¡No tardes mucho . . . !* Caveda 59

(s. XVII) *Ola, Tuña: ¿qué, riste? pues bien oyes; Saca dos filos.* 83 *Oyes, Antón, agarra la fesoria (=azada, Rato).* Cruz, Sainetes (1843) I 195 b *Oyes, Juliana, mírale por donde viene.* 202 a *Oyes, procura andar listo.* II 146 b *Oyes, oyes, ven acá.* 193 a *Oyes, mira que parece que este es un grande embustero.* 222 a *Oyes, regidor; cuidado que . . .* 297 a *¡Oyes! cuenta que me avises si . . .* 298 a *¿Oyes? pregunta por las hermanas.* b *Oyes, mira, no me dejes caer una costalada.* 299 a. 356 a. 544 b. Castillo, Sainetes II 226 *Oyes, oyes, no me seas bachillera.*

b) Es kann nicht verwundern, auch *oye* V. als Aufforderung anzutreffen: Cruz, Sainetes (1843) II 103 a *Oye usted, ¿me hará usted gusto de decirme . . . ?* 104 a *Oye usted, este que habla es el usía que . . .* 497 a *oye usted, ¿qué es esto de paralela?* 579 b *¡Oye usted, así quisiera, que tonadillas de sobra tiene de chupete y nuevas!* 593 b *oye usted, señora novia, ¿son todas estas doncellas?* 619 a *Oye usted ¿dónde las venden?*—[Bonilla,] Entremeses 88 *Oyen, señores: todo me lo valgo.*

Damit lässt sich vergleichen: "Sind sie froh, dass Sie in den ersten paar Vorstellungen nicht zu thun haben," Die neue Rundschau, April 1912, 507 (Worte, die Kainz dem Sohne seines Theaterdirektors Förster in den Mund legt).

Zum Schluss<sup>1</sup> sei hier nur noch einer Erscheinung gedacht, des graden Gegenteils der zuletzt besprochenen. Es handelt sich um eine ursprüngliche Aufforderung mit dem Verbum im Subjunktiv, die als Frage auftritt. Auch dies ein formelhaft gewordener Ausdruck. Die Beispiele sind: Cruz, Sainetes (1843) II 370 a *¿Mande usted?* 539 a *¿Mande usted, señor?* Castillo II 73 *Mande usted, seña Teresa?* 179 *Mande usted?* III 156.

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<sup>1</sup> Vom Ausrufungszeichen bei *oyes* macht der span. Hrag. auch Gebrauch, wenn auf *oyes* eine Behauptung folgt: I 364 a *¡Oyes, hija, ese parece demasiado atrevimiento!* II 653 a *¡Oyes! Puede ser, porque es muy buena.*

<sup>2</sup> Das Fragezeichen bei *oyes* verwenden die span. Hrag. gewöhnlich bei folgender Frage, aber keineswegs consequent. Man vergleiche: Encina 223 *Oyes, Zambardo, ¿eres tuyo ó ajeno?* Diego Sanchez de Badajoz II 165 *Oyesme, rey de Israel(.) Con tu campo desastrado[.] No habrá quien me saiga dél Para firmar mi cartel . . . [?] Cruz, Sainetes (1843) I 202 b *¿Oyes, y estabas caída antes de haber yo llamado?* II 158 a. 254 a *Oyes, ¿quién es esa?* 256 a. 355 b. 622 a. Castillo I 101 *Oyes, Petra, vienes sola?* II 61 *Oyes, quién es esa?**

<sup>3</sup> Das Kapitel über den Imperativ ist unerschöpflich. Ich hoffe, noch öfter darauf zurückzukommen. Auch auf *ves* und *oyes*, betreffs deren der Versuch, etwas Klarheit in die Verhältnisse zu bringen, einmal gewagt werden musste.





## THE OLDEST FORM OF THE BEVES LEGEND

### I

The almost simultaneous appearance of two independent and fundamental studies on the legend of Sir Beves of Hamtoun by Jordan<sup>1</sup> and Boje<sup>2</sup> has brought this difficult problem, which had been slumbering more or less peacefully since the publication, in 1872, of Rajna's *Ricerche intorno ai Reali di Francia* once more to the foreground. Apparently its ultimate solution is as remote as ever, for these two studies reach conclusions diametrically opposite, but in reality a considerable step forward has been taken. Boje has unquestionably shown

dass wir im BH keine deutsche, keine angelsächsische, keine keltische, keine Wikinger-Sage, weder persisch-armenischen, noch griechisch-römischen Ursprung, und auch kein Gemisch von fränkischer Geschichte mit deutscher und persischer Sage und andern "verschiedensten und fernliegendsten Quellen" zu suchen haben; dass wir es im BH überhaupt nicht mit einer aus geheimnisvollen Tiefen entsprungene Sage, sondern ganz einfach mit einem Roman zu tun haben, mit dem Werk—von den Bearbeitern abgesehen—eines Einzelnen, wenn dieser uns auch nach mittelalterlicher Art seinen Namen nicht überliefert hat. . . .<sup>3</sup>

I believe that this conception of the origin of the oldest French form of the story is essentially correct, but it suffers from the fact that the Italian version has not been taken into the comparison. Boje practically neglects this altogether, though the limited evidence which he presents on pp. 19-21 against its critical value is in no way conclusive. Jordan's work is in this respect undoubtedly the better. Here the Italian version is properly placed by the side of the French version and compared with it.

Brugger in his review<sup>4</sup> of this study concedes that henceforth the Italian *Buovo* can no longer be neglected in a comparative study of this

<sup>1</sup> "Ueber Boeve de Hanstone," *Beihefte zur Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, 14. Heft, 1908.

<sup>2</sup> "Ueber den altfranzösischen Roman von Beuve de Hamtone," *Beihefte zur Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, 19. Heft, 1909.

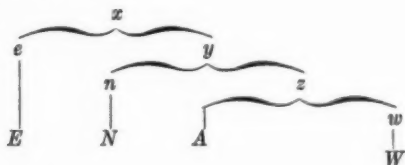
<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 136-37.

<sup>4</sup> *Zs. f. franz. Spr. u. Litt.*, XXXIV, 25 ff.

story. However, he declines to accept Jordan's thesis in its entirety, and criticizes his failure to institute a fundamental re-examination of the relation of all the French versions to the Italian, thus showing that he is not convinced that the Italian *Buovo* gives a trustworthy picture of the original story. In his review of Boje's study,<sup>1</sup> on the other hand, he appears equally cautious with reference to this author's claim that the Italian version is nothing but a derivative of the French. A new examination of the question is therefore permissible.

In order to make this discussion clear it will be necessary to outline the problem briefly.<sup>2</sup> The story of Beves of Hamtoun has been preserved in two versions, the one French, the other Italian. The French version falls into two groups, distinguished not so much by the sequence of incidents, as by the geographical location of the hero's home. In the Anglo-French group (referred to here as *AF*), Hamtoun is located in England; in the continental French version (*CF* in this study) the location of this city is on the Continent. There are numerous other differences between the two versions. *CF* is longer and contains traits not present in *AF*, and on the other hand *AF* shows features absent from *CF*. But these differences do not affect the framework of the story; events in the two groups follow the same order.

*AF* was studied by Stimming in the introduction to his well-known edition of the Anglo-Norman *Boeve de Hamtoun*.<sup>3</sup> It is represented by four branches, English (*E*), Anglo-Norman (*A*), Norse (*N*), and Welsh (*W*), whose relation is shown (*op. cit.*, p. clxxiv) by the following diagram, in which the small letters designate lost French versions:



<sup>1</sup> *Zs. f. franz. Spr. u. Litt.*, XXXV<sup>2</sup>, 40-50.

<sup>2</sup> For a more complete orientation I may refer to the two studies of Boje and Jordan already cited.

<sup>3</sup> *Bibliotheca Normannica*, VII (Halle, 1899).

Stimming's conclusions have been generally accepted, and we are not called upon to re-examine the evidence.

*CF* comprises six unpublished forms,<sup>1</sup> two in Paris (*P*, *P*<sup>1</sup>), one in Carpentras (*C*), and three in Italy (Turin, *T*, Rome, *R*, Venice *V*) which have been studied by Stimming.<sup>2</sup> To this list Boje adds a seventh manuscript in Vienna (*W*), which forms the basis of the analysis of *CF* as it appears in his study. All attempts to group these versions with reference to each other have proved futile. The story of Beves of Hamtoun was evidently tremendously popular in the thirteenth century; it was told and retold by jongleurs until variations and additions became so numerous that it is at present impossible to unravel the confusion. These continental French versions are jongleur versions, made by jongleur authors. They keep intact the central threads of the story, but they borrow freely from intermediate forms which have at present disappeared. At the same time certain large features of relationship have persisted. *CT* and *PR* are in general fairly distinct, and *P*<sup>1</sup>, though frequently agreeing with *CT*, often stands alone, while *V* seems on the whole more closely akin to *CT* than to the other group. Boje's new version *W* agrees in general with *PR*.

In spite of this confusion, however, one point is clear: *AF* and *CF* represent two independent forms of the same story, agreeing in outline so closely that we are forced to look upon them both as offspring of a common source. Which of the two is the more authoritative, however, even the most searching comparisons could not establish, for *AF* always appeared as important as *CF*.

<sup>1</sup>[Since Matzke completed his article, *P*<sup>1</sup> has been published by Stimming: *Der Festlandische Bueve de Hantone*, Fassung I, Dresden, 1911. Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, Band 25. A dissertation (Göttingen) on the language of this version, by L. Behrens, is announced.

Matzke's *Fre-it* has also been published in full by Joachim Reinhold: "Die franko-italienische Version des Bovo d'Antone," *Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, XXXV, 555, 683; XXXVI, 1-32. Reinhold now plans a critical edition of the whole of MS XIII (*Litteraturblatt*, XXXIII, col. 150).

F. Oeckel (Göttingen dissertation, 1911) concludes that MS *P* (Fassung II of Stimming) "ist höchstwahrscheinlich um 1280 von Pieros du Riés geschrieben worden, und zwar in pikardischem Dialekt."

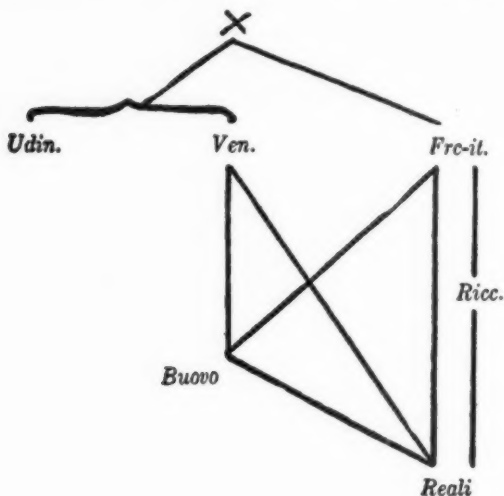
None of these studies enters into the main question treated by Matzke.—T. A. J.]

<sup>2</sup>"Das gegenseitige Verhältniss der französischen gereimten Versionen der Sage von Bueve de Hanstone," *Abhandlungen Herrn Prof. Dr. Adolf Tobler . . . dargebracht*, Halle, 1895, pp. 1-44.

The manuscripts and texts important for the Italian version are the following:

1. Venice, *San Marco, Mss. frz. cod. XIII*. This manuscript is incomplete so far as our story is concerned: all that precedes the return of Buovo to his native land has been lost. It begins with the account of a battle of the hero and his governor Sinibaldo against the army of Dodone. See Rajna's *Ricerche*, pp. 134-35 (*Frc-it.*).

2. Florence, *Laurenziana, codice mediceo-palatino XCIII*; published by Rajna, *Ricerche*, pp. 493-566. (The *Veneto* text = *Ven.*)



3. Udine, *Archivio capitolare della cattedrale*; fragments published by Rajna, *Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, XI, 162-83 (*Udin.*).

4. Florence, *Riccardiana cod. 1030*, fragment published by Rajna, *Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, XV, 55-87; for a detailed discussion see *Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, XII, 463-510 (*Ricc.*).

5. *Buovo, poema Toscano in ottava rima*; see Rajna, *Ricerche*, pp. 155-78.

6. *Reali di Francia*, Book IV; see Rajna, *Ricerche*, pp. 178-209.

The inter-relations of these texts have been carefully studied by Rajna, and no evidence has been presented which would in any way

invalidate his conclusions. He has shown (1) that the manuscripts and texts enumerated represent two Italian forms of our story, *Ven.* and *Udin.* on the one hand, and *Frc-it.* and *Ricc.* on the other; (2) that the *Buovo* is based upon *Ven.* and the *Realì* on *Frc-it.* and *Ricc.*; (3) that either form knew the other manuscript group and was affected by it, and that in addition the *Realì* drew upon the *Buovo* as well as upon the French version. If we incorporate in Rajna's scheme<sup>1</sup> facts established in his later studies, the diagram on page 22 will show the grouping of the Italian versions (*It.*).

## II

When we compare this Italian version with *AF* and *CF* we are struck by the thoroughgoing rearrangement which the story has apparently undergone. It is shorter, incidents differ in detail, and the sequence of events in certain places is so fundamentally altered, that it is evident that we are dealing with a new form of the story, which might serve as the *tertium comparationis* which was lacking in the study of *AF* and *CF*. We note further that the traitor stepfather of Beves is Dodone di Maganza, agreeing with *CF* where he is called Doon de Maience, while in *AF* he is Doon, emperor of Germany. This fact, added to many others, makes it clear that *It* is more closely related to *CF* than to *AF*.

We now see a twofold possibility for the explanation of its origin. The shorter form (*It*) may represent a rearrangement of *CF*, or it may have come down along an independent line from the original form of the story. The former of these two explanations has been the one generally accepted by scholars. Consequently *It* has been systematically neglected, an attitude resulting from the very superficial examination accorded to it. If this attitude be correct, *It* may indeed be slighted; yet it cannot be entirely ignored. Even though it be a variant without argumentative value, it should be possible to assign some reasonable explanation for its origin and present form, and an attempt to find such an explanation was made by Brockstedt.<sup>2</sup>

Brockstedt maintained that the original Italian Beves story was the work of the author of the Italian *Fioravante*, that both these

<sup>1</sup> *Ricerche*, p. 217.

<sup>2</sup> *Florentstudien*, Kiel, 1907.

texts are composed after the same pattern, and that either story, as we have it, was modified by features drawn from the other. Granted that *Fioravante* shows borrowing from *Beves*, it does not follow, however, that the reverse is equally true, unless it can be proved, first, that *It* does not represent an independent and authoritative form of the *Beves* story. Consequently Brockstedt is forced to outline his position with reference to the arguments that have been advanced in support of the other point of view. On pp. 31-32 he enumerates seven such arguments drawn from Rajna's *Ricerche*, pp. 135-40, and of these he discusses two in detail.

Rajna had maintained that in the Italian story, when it is not influenced by the French versions, Antone is located on the Continent and that the hero has no contact with the king of England. Where the English incidents and geography are found in Italian, as in *Frc-it.* and the *Reali*, they are due to secondary influence of the French versions. Brockstedt, on the other hand, attempts to show (pp. 33-34) that it cannot be affirmed with certainty that any one of the existing Italian versions really ignored the English features of the French *Beves* story. *Ven.* is incomplete and might have lost these references, and the *Buovo* poem, which according to Rajna is based mainly on *Ven.*, has an evident variant of the scene of the theft of *Beves'* horse by the son of the king of England, and, in canto XIV, 84 ff., it cites England as the hero's home. While this is correct, it should be noted that the *Buovo* poem is a late composition, that more than half of it represents undoubtedly the author's additions, and that the two features cited by Brockstedt might thus very easily have come in through the author's knowledge of other versions of the story which contained the English incidents. The *Ven.* text was probably not much longer than the portion that has been preserved,<sup>1</sup> and the reference to England as the hero's home occurs precisely in the section of the poem not duplicated by *Ven.*

In the next place, Brockstedt attempts to discredit Rajna's claim that the logical arrangement of *It* is an argument in support of its priority. He asks, "Muss denn die ursprüngliche Version auch immer die vorzüglichere, bessere sein?" It may be said that this attitude is perfectly sound, and yet the possibility that the view

<sup>1</sup> See Rajna, *Ricerche*, p. 172, and note also Jordan's objection, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

which Brockstedt combats is actually correct is not destroyed by such a theoretical objection. Experience has shown that in general the more logical form of any story is apt to be the older. The principle might hold true also in the present instance, and if this should prove to be the case Brockstedt's whole argument would crumble.

The main support of his theory, however, lies in his belief that the rôle of Margaria in *It* is derived from the French *Flovent*. The argument in favor of this indebtedness is rather circuitous in nature. The French *Flovent* has the figure of Maugalie, a pagan princess who from love for Flovent aids him to escape from his prison. Maugalie is called Drugiolina in the Italian *Fioravante*, consequently her name must be modeled upon that of Drusiana of the Italian Beves story. Now, in the latter story, Margaria protects Beves in a somewhat similar way, and since this scene of the Italian story has no counterpart in the French versions, the figure and rôle of Margaria must be that of Maugalie driven out of the *Flovent* story.<sup>1</sup> The weakness of this reasoning is evident. Granted that the *Fioravante* shows influence of the Italian Beves story, the reverse does not necessarily follow. If it should be shown that the rôle of Margaria belongs to the French source of the Italian versions, the similarity of scene and name between the two poems would continue to exist, but Brockstedt's whole structure would fall to the ground. And as a matter of fact we shall see later<sup>2</sup> that there are some valid reasons for maintaining that the Margaria episode stood in the French source of *It*.

Becker<sup>3</sup> indorsed Brockstedt's view; Brugger also apparently accepts it.<sup>4</sup> Yet it seems to me evident that the essential point which must be firmly established at the outset is the very question whether *It* is or is not a representative of a more original form of the

<sup>1</sup> "Nun ist die Gestalt der Drugiolina ausschliessliches Eigenthum des Fior., d. h. der Ital. Version des Flovent; in der fra. Ueberlieferung fehlt jede Spur von ihr. Dann kann aber auch die Margaria des Buovo nicht schon aus einer fra., womöglich noch hochalterthümlichen Beuve-Version stammen. Vielmehr muss sie einem ital. Bearbeiter ihre Einfügung in die Buovo-Dichtung verdanken. Damit ist erwiesen dass der Buovo nicht ein früheres, sondern ein späteres Entwicklungsstadium der Beuve-Sage verkörpert als dasjenige, von dem die fra. Versionen Zeugnis ablegen."—*Op. cit.*, p. 35. The italics are mine.

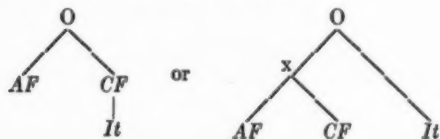
<sup>2</sup> See p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> *Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, 1908, col. 29.

<sup>4</sup> *Zs. f. franz. Spr. u. Litt.*, XXXV<sup>3</sup>, p. 50.



Beves story than that preserved in *AF* or *CF*. Until this question has been answered it will be useless to search for the models or for the formula that might have determined the recasting of the original story into its Italian form. The answer to it must lie in a close comparison of *It* with *AF* and *CF*. The Italian form must be either an offspring of *CF*, or it has come down along an independent line of transmission from the same original story from which the common source of *AF* and *CF* has sprung. Represented by diagrams, the relation of our three groups must be either



No other possibility is apparently imaginable.

### III

The first to voice the conviction that *It* represents an older form of the Beves story was Rajna. When he wrote, however, *AF* and *CF* were scarcely accessible, and his argumentation was more or less general in nature, so that his conclusion was based upon the broad outline of the two versions rather than upon characteristic details. His arguments<sup>1</sup> are those summed up by Brockstedt.<sup>2</sup> Not all are equally cogent; the strongest is based upon a comparison of the general outline of the two versions. The Italian is consistent, and the various sections of the story are logically connected. While in the French version the second exile of the hero forms practically a poem by itself which can be separated from the first half of the story without interfering with its structure, in the Italian form these two sections are so consistently joined that no division is possible.

However, Rajna's reasoning failed to convince scholars, and we have just seen how Brockstedt deals with this particular argument. The better method of procedure was followed by Jordan, who subjected the three forms of the story to a critical examination, section by section, with the result that the independent value of *It* can no longer be doubted; the conclusion must be that the French form

<sup>1</sup> *Ricerche*, pp. 135-40.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.

represents a reworking, and further investigation as to its origin must be based upon the Italian form. Doubt may exist, however, with reference to the question which of the members of the Italian group is to be given the preference. Jordan selected *Ven.*, which he completed in one or two places, where the only existing manuscript has lost a folio, by a reference to the manuscript at Udine which fortunately supplements the gap, but he apparently neglects completely the *Realì* and the fragmentary *Riccardiana* manuscript. The two Italian versions established by Rajna are fortunately so similar that this neglect does not, as a matter of fact, impair the value of Jordan's conclusions. His main thesis will have to be accepted, but his failure to include all the available material in Italian has led him here and there to overlook matter which undoubtedly stood in the French source of the Italian versions.

The method should be to reconstruct this source through the comparison of the Italian versions. Unfortunately the fragmentary nature of most of them makes this impossible. Only the *Realì* version is complete; *Ven.* has gaps in the body of the story and lacks the end, and the other three manuscripts present only fragments. Moreover, Rajna has shown that Andrea da Barberino's *Realì* represents a fusion of widely differing sources, and since the French version was among these it would seem to follow that the importance of the *Realì* for critical purposes must be very slight. On the other hand this opinion can be checked to a certain extent by the publication of the *Riccardiana* fragment, which derives from *Frc-it.*, the main source of the *Realì* and also known to Andrea da Barberino. It replaces, therefore, the corresponding lost portion of *Frc-it.* and makes it possible to compare the two Italian forms of the story for fourteen out of the eighty chapters of the *Realì*. This number is of course insufficient, but it is better than nothing. While it does not overthrow the conclusions of Rajna with reference to the composite nature of the *Realì*, it nevertheless emphasizes the fact that in general the *Realì* represents a parallel version to the *Veneto* text, and that as a matter of principle it should be born in mind that, unless other evidence of undoubted value shows the *Realì* to be untrustworthy, it is always possible, when this form of the story differs from *Ven.*, that we have there matter of equal critical value with

that found in the *Veneto* text. In a critical study of the problem, therefore, the *Reali* should not be neglected, as it has been by Jordan.

Let us point out some of the material which this larger method will add to the discussion.

1. After Buovo's escape from his mother, when he is rescued by the vessel that takes him to Erminia, he relates to his rescuers, and likewise to Erminione after his arrival in that country, a fictitious story concerning his antecedents which agrees in all the available versions, with this difference that in the *Reali* he adds that his name is Agostino. This feature is duplicated by the *Riccardiana* fragment, which proves that it is not due to the initiative of Andrea da Barberino,<sup>1</sup> but that it may have stood in the lost portion of *Frc-it.* and was omitted by the author of *Ven.* This possibility becomes a certainty when it is borne in mind that a fictitious name of strange but curiously similar form (Angossoxo) is adopted by Buovo in the *Veneto* text, when he returns to his home to battle against Dodone (l. 1836), and that in similar manner in the French versions Beves makes use of the fictitious name Gerraud, Gyrant, Gyrald, or Girart de Dijon, when he returns to his home. It is evident that the motive for the fictitious name belongs to the story, and we shall see later how important this fact is for the correct understanding of its original form.

2. After his arrival in Erminia, Buovo becomes first stable-boy, then page of Erminione, and as such he serves him at table. His handsome bearing is noted by Drusiana, the king's daughter, who makes advances to win his love. In this connection one scene in particular should be noted. It is present in all the Italian versions, but the *Veneto* text is incomplete here, and Jordan rejects it.<sup>2</sup>

Drusiana has noted the presence of the handsome youth and wonders how she could show him the love she bears him. Finally she decides to entertain her ladies, borrows servants of her father for the occasion, and names Agostino as one of them. She arranges matters so that Agostino must wait upon her in particular. Before the meal begins, and while he hands her the basin to wash her hands, she throws some drops of water into his face and laughs at him when he bows his head and does not know what to say. Later she notes

<sup>1</sup> Rajna, *Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, XII, 500, wrongly calls this name a "neologismo" of *Ricc.*

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 15, § 6<sup>a</sup>.

that the tablecloth hangs down to the floor, and she drops her knife calling upon Agostino to pick it up. While he does according to her bidding she also stoops down and kisses him, so that Agostino blushes from embarrassment. The incident with the basin stands only in *Ricc.* and the *Realì*, but the rest is present in all, except *Frc-it.*, and should stand in the analysis of the Italian story. It is even possible that the complete incident should be included, for the form of *Ricc.* is as authoritative for the source of the Italian versions as *Ven.*

3. On p. 15 of his analysis (§6) Jordan commits another error, due to the same method. After the mention of the tournament, arranged to select the husband of Drusiana, in which Buovo is victorious, Jordan says, "Er erhält den Preis, einen Kranz," and he continues, "Druxiana zwingt B. durch Drohung, die Vergewaltigte zu spielen, ihr den Kranz zu schenken und ihr ihn eigenhändig auf den Kopf zu drücken." Jordan has clearly misrepresented the scene, which should be as follows:

One morning (*Udin.*; one Sunday morning from joy, *Ricc.*; in order to avoid serving Drusiana, *Realì*) Buovo goes into the fields to cut grass for his horses. He makes a garland which he puts on his head and thus adorned, he returns to the city where the tournament is in progress. Immediately he takes part in it (here *Ven.* begins) and overcomes Marcabrun. Drusiana witnesses the encounter from a window or balcony of the palace. When it is over, she goes to see Buovo in the stable (*Ricc.* stops here) and obtains the garland from him. In *Ven.* and *Udin.* she threatens that she will accuse him of having wronged her; in the *Realì* this threat is absent, but there can be no question that the scene as such should be present in an analysis of the Italian story.

4. The marriage of Josiane is prepared in both *AF* and *CF* in a section which interrupts the account of Beves' imprisonment; see Jordan, p. 17. A similar section is absent from *Ven.*, so that here the information necessary for the understanding of the situation is furnished to the reader only at the time of Buovo's arrival in Monbrando, when these facts are brought out through the hero's questions. Jordan thinks that the *Veneto* text undoubtedly has here the older form of the story. An interruption of the narrative, such as the

French shows, he thinks indicates a "younger" technique.<sup>1</sup> The question is not vital, for whether the section involved is present or absent, the main outline of the story remains unchanged. However, *Realì*, IV, 20, corresponds exactly to the section in question, while at the same time the differences are such that it is unlikely that Andrea da Barberino drew here upon the French versions.

In the latter, Josiane notes Beves' absence and is told by her father, who has sent him to Damascus, that he has gone to England to avenge his father's death, stating that he would not return. Josiane remains faithful to him and takes care of Arundel and Murgleie. Soon Ivori de Monbrant asks for her hand, and she is married to him. Knowing some witchcraft she fashions a girdle which will keep her intact for Beves. Thus protected, she goes to Monbrant, taking along Murgleie and Arundel, who allows no other person to approach him. Certain members of *CF* speak here of a dream through which Josiane is warned of Beves' danger, and the father tells her he has gone to Damascus. There are other variations as well, but in general *CF* resembles *AF*.

In the *Realì*, Erminione is inclined to look favorably upon his daughter's marriage to Buovo and his disappearance is therefore a riddle to him. He makes efforts to find him for two years, but in the end he decides to marry Drusiana to Marcabrun. When she consents she exacts the condition that the actual consummation of the marriage shall be deferred for one year, in the hope that Buovo might in the meantime come to her new home at Monbrando in Polonia. She goes to Marcabrun's court, taking with her her lover's arms, his horse Rondelo, her cousin Giorgis, and Pulicane, who later plays such an important rôle in the story and whose antecedents are here explained.

Again probability is in favor of the view that the form of the story found in the *Realì* is as worthy of credence as that of the *Veneto* text. The passage just discussed, not with all its details but in its essence, stood in the Franco-Italian source of Andrea da Barberino, and to a certain extent it has the support of *AF* and *CF*.

5. One more similar instance may end this portion of my argument. It has to do with the arrival before Monbrando of the ship

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 58.

on which Buovo has made good his escape from his prison. The *Veneto* text is fragmentary at this point, so that Jordan's analysis (p. 18), in spite of the fact that he makes use of the second of the *Udine* fragments,<sup>1</sup> is quite imperfect. The true bearing of the scene becomes clear only through comparison with the *Reali*.

Jordan's analysis is intentionally vague. Buovo asks the name of the land which the ship is approaching, and receives the answer that it is called Monbrando. The speaker is not identified; Jordan says "antwortet man," and the inference must be that the information comes from one of the sailors who in some unexplained way is acquainted with the facts in question. It is apparently also these same sailors who row Buovo ashore. Reference to the *Reali*, however, shows the real facts to be quite different. Here the ship by chance and contrary winds arrives before the city of Polonia. A fisherman, busy in the mouth of the river (the *peschier de bon aira* of the *Udine* fragment), is called near the ship to answer Buovo's questions. From him he learns that the city is preparing for a great festivity. Marcabrun is on the point of celebrating his actual marriage with Drusiana, who had stipulated a year of freedom in the hope of Buovo's return. The sailors pay the fisherman thirty pieces of gold, and he takes Buovo to the shore, entertaining him all the while with additional details about the impending celebration.

On the shore he meets the robber-pilgrim who had deprived him of his sword when he was on his way to Sadonia with the fateful letter, forces him to exchange clothes with him, and thus disguised he enters the city. Here the *Veneto* text and the *Udine* fragments leave us, and when they resume the story they contain several allusions which remain obscure without the aid of the *Reali*. There is a reference in the *Veneto* text, l. 1194, to the murder of the chief cook by Buovo, apparently in self-defense. The text reads (ll. 1196-98):

Eo li domandava per Dio carità;  
 El prexe un stiço, tuto me brostolà.  
 S'io me defendì nol abiè per mal.

Presently he meets Drusiana, and when he speaks Buovo's name before her, she warns him that the mention of it is forbidden in the city:

<sup>1</sup> *Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, XI, p. 179.

Tu no se lo bando chi è in sta cità:  
Chi Bovo mençona de' esser apica [l. 1216-17].

The first of these passages is lacking in *Udin.*, but the second is corroborated by it. The full explanation becomes evident only when the *Realì* is consulted. Here the fisherman who takes Buovo ashore tells him that the mention of Buovo's name is a capital offense in the city and this leads the hero to inquire after Buovo on a number of occasions, which is probably evidence that the trait has been elaborated. He obtains food in an inn, because the merchants flee in fright at the sound of Buovo's name, he shouts it to some women whom he meets coming from church. One of these proves to be the maiden who aided him to escape when his mother tried to poison him; he almost precipitates a quarrel between a knight and a merchant playing chess in the palace when he asks alms for Buovo's sake. Finally he arrives in the kitchen of the palace where the same daring mention of his name leads to an attack upon him during which he kills the "siniscalco della cugina" with a stick, for he was ashamed to draw his sword in such surroundings.

Unquestionably it would be wrong to incorporate this lengthy scene in its entirety in the source of the *Realì*, but the importance of this text for the Italian form of the story is again clearly vindicated.

Lack of space forbids the continuation of this comparison. The purpose was to emphasize the position of the *Realì* in this study. It is evident that this text has a very definite place in the argument, and that in the comparative study of the Italian and French forms of our story it should always be consulted.

With this idea in mind I have re-examined the whole problem, and the result has been ample vindication of the claim advanced by Rajna and Jordan. Detailed examination of the various forms of the story reveals numerous phases where the Italian has undoubtedly the better form. Roughly speaking, these instances fall into two groups. In the first, *AF* and *CF* differ and *It* agrees now with the one, now with the other. Since the common origin of *AF* and *CF* is assured, it follows that *It* must have been independently transmitted from the original version of which the common source of *AF* and *CF* is another offspring. In the second, *It* agrees with one or the other of the various versions of *CF*. If the agreement were per-



sistently with the same French version we should be forced to infer, in spite of the argumentative bearing of the first group of agreements, that this version was closely related to the lost French source of *It*. But such is not the case. Though some of the versions of *CF* present more frequent points of contact with *It* than others, yet no one version monopolizes this position, and this fact added to the constant presence of contact between *AF* and *It* forces us to the same conclusion as to the agreements of the first group.

It is not my intention to reproduce here the arguments nor the proofs, since I could re-establish only what Jordan in my opinion has already shown to be the case. In an investigation of this nature which rests upon a large number of minute agreements, all apparently leading to the same final conclusion, a difference of judgment as to one point or another does not invalidate the result any more than the addition of a number of similar agreements would materially strengthen it. Indeed, but for the criticisms of Brugger<sup>1</sup> on Jordan's work, a repetition of the argument need not be considered. My purpose is different. I wish to show through an examination of the structure of *It* the formula according to which its source was composed, and to point out the group of French poems to which it belonged. If I succeed in this attempt I shall have added another strong argument for the originality of *It* in its essential outline, and I feel confident that I shall be pardoned for not entering again into the wearisome details which a minute comparison of the various versions would demand.

#### IV

Let us begin by contrasting the framework of *It* with that of the French versions. For more detailed analysis I may refer to the studies of Jordan and Boje.

##### ITALIAN VERSION

##### EXILE FORMULA

The hero is driven from his home. The characters are the wicked mother, the murderer of the father, the faithful servant or governor. The hero escapes.

<sup>1</sup> See *Zs. f. franz. Spr. u. Litt.*, XXXIV<sup>2</sup>, p. 27. Becker, *Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, 1909, col. 62, writing under the influence of Brockstedt's work, belittles the method without giving the impression, however, that he has seriously considered it.

## ARRIVAL IN ARMINIA

The aged king has a young daughter.  
 The hero disguises his identity and assumes a fictitious name.  
 First deeds of prowess.  
 The princess falls in love with the hero and makes advances.  
 An unwelcome suitor appears with a hostile army.  
 The hero is knighted and wins a victory.  
 The king looks favorably upon his marriage to his daughter.  
 Enemies malign the hero and he is driven from the country.

## URIAS LETTER

The hero is sent with a letter to Sadonia.  
 A pilgrim plunders the hero.  
 The hero arrives in Sadonia, and is thrown into prison.

## ARRIVAL IN SADONIA

The king has a young daughter who falls in love with the hero.  
 The hero remains faithful to his first love.  
 The first princess is married. (The marriage is to become real only at the end of a year=*Scheinehe*.)  
 The hero escapes from prison.

## ARRIVAL IN MONBRANDO

The hero arrives at the home of the first princess at the very moment when her marriage is to become a reality.  
 The hero appears in disguise.  
 The hero and heroine escape.

## PULICAN EPISODE

Pulican enters into the story.  
 Birth of twins and death of Pulican.  
 Separation of hero and heroine.

## RETURN TO ANTONA

The hero returns to his home and conquers his heritage.

## FINAL SOLUTION

The second princess calls for help and the hero hurries to her assistance.  
 Proposed marriage of the hero to the second princess.  
 Opportune arrival of the hero's wife, the first princess.  
 The second princess marries a friend of the hero.

The simplicity and symmetry of the formula according to which this story is constructed will stand out clearly if we compare it with

the involved structure of the French version.<sup>1</sup> The formula in general is evidently identical, but its symmetry is broken in such a way that the second love adventure of the hero, which in the Italian story is an outcome of the first, is here entirely independent of it, so that it has the appearance of an isolated incident. Moreover, the story is encumbered with numerous incidents which have no direct connection with the central theme.

## FRENCH VERSION

## EXILE FORMULA

The characters are the cruel mother, the murderer of the father, the faithful servant or governor. The hero is sold into slavery.

## ARRIVAL IN EGYPT

The aged king has a young daughter.  
The hero reveals his identity.  
First deeds of prowess.  
The princess falls in love with the hero and makes advances.  
An unwelcome suitor appears, whom the hero overcomes.  
Enemies malign the hero, and he is driven from the country.

## URIAS LETTER

The hero is sent to Damascus with a letter.  
A pilgrim warns the hero.  
The hero is thrown into prison.

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The princess is married to Yvori of Monbrant, and she protects her virginity by witchcraft.

The hero escapes from prison.

## HE JOURNEYS TO FIND THE PRINCESS

He comes to the castle of a giant.  
He goes to Jerusalem.  
He reaches Monbrant disguised as a pilgrim.

## THE HERO AND HEROINE ESCAPE

Lions kill their servant.  
Escopart (Pulican) appears.  
They reach Cologne by ship.  
The princess and Escopart are baptized.

<sup>1</sup> The outline which follows is based upon the Anglo-Norman poem. *CF* differs in details, but not in the sequence of events.

## THE HERO RETURNS TO HIS HOME

The princess is left in Cologne in charge of Escopart.  
 The hero arrives in his home under a fictitious name.  
 New danger of the princess; she is married to Miles.  
 The hero conquers his heritage and punishes his stepfather.  
 The hero returns to Cologne and rescues the princess.  
 The hero and heroine are married.

## THE HERO GOES TO LONDON

Description of a race.  
 The hero's horse kills the prince of England.  
 Escopart turns traitor.

## SECOND EXILE OF THE HERO

Twins are born to the hero and heroine.  
 The heroine is carried off by Saracens.  
 The faithful servant sets out to seek the hero.

## ARRIVAL IN CIVILE

The duchess of Civile falls in love with the hero and makes advances.  
 The hero contracts a marriage in form (*Scheinehe*) for seven years with the duchess of Civile.  
 The faithful servant and wife of the hero appear at the end of seven years.  
 The second heroine marries a friend of the hero.

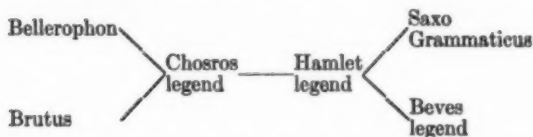
## FINAL INCIDENTS

The traitors are punished.  
 The hero's sons become kings.  
 The hero and heroine die.

## V

A discussion of the attempts to explain the origin of this story, all based, it must be borne in mind, on the belief in the priority of *AF* and *CF*, may be found in Jordan's study, pp. 1-8. Of this list that of Zenker<sup>1</sup> is the most important. He identifies the Beves story with the Hamlet legend as related by Saxo Grammaticus, and derives both from a common source, itself a derivation of the Chosros legend; this in turn is formed through a combination of the Brutus and Bellerophon legends. The following diagram will make this descent clear:

<sup>1</sup> *Boeve-Amlethus*, in Schick and Waldberg's *Literarhistorische Forschungen*, Berlin, 1905.



This filiation is rejected by Jordan, but Brugger accepts the final link in it in his review of Jordan's study. The main argument upon which Zenker bases his claim lies in the similarity of the Urias letter and the Civile episode to corresponding features in the Hamlet legend. Now it is evident that the second of these arguments must fall if the Italian form of the story is the more authoritative, for then the Civile episode is clearly a variant of the second love adventure of Buovo with Margaria. We may therefore dismiss this argument for the present and leave its final explanation to a subsequent portion of this study. The Urias letter is discussed by Zenker, *op. cit.*, pp. 45 ff. and 403 ff. Additional references may be found in his Index. The form which Saxo utilizes is shown most clearly in two French stories of the thirteenth century, the *Dit de l'empereur Coustant*<sup>1</sup> and a prose novel.<sup>2</sup> I add the outline of these stories as given by Zenker, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

An emperor of Byzantium, Florian in the *Dit*, Muselin in the *Prose*, hears that the stars predict that the newly born son of one of his subjects will marry his daughter and become his successor. He gains possession of the boy in order to kill him, but without his knowledge the boy remains alive and is brought up in a cloister under the name of Coustant. When he has grown up, the emperor sees and recognizes him and sends him to a castle with a letter commanding the provost to kill the bearer. Coustant arrives at his destination, but before delivering the letter he lies down in the garden before the castle and falls asleep. Here the emperor's daughter sees him, falls in love with him, and exchanges, while he is sleeping, the letter which she finds on him for another in which the provost is directed to marry the princess at once with the bearer. Thus Coustant becomes the emperor's son-in-law and later his successor.

Barring the change of names and minor features, the Hamlet

<sup>1</sup> Published by Wesselofsky, *Romania*, VI, pp. 162 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Moland et d'Héricault, *Nouvelles françaises en prose du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1856, pp. 1-32.

legend contains this motive in identical form. But when we compare it with the corresponding portion of the Beves story important differences appear, and these Zenker has failed to note.

Here Beves is sent with a letter to the sultan of Sadonia (Damasus in the French versions) containing instructions to put the bearer to death. When he has delivered the letter, in the French version the sultan refuses to kill him. Beves had previously overcome him in battle, and the sultan had sworn allegiance to him;<sup>1</sup> he is thrown therefore into prison. In the Italian versions Margaria (Margarita in the *Reali*), the sultan's daughter, who has been impressed by the handsome bearing of the young stranger, intercedes for him with the same results that Buovo is imprisoned. Now it should be noted that in neither version do we find the characteristic feature of the former story, by which the fateful letter is exchanged for another which deceives the recipient as to the real intention of the message. And this substitution is characteristic of all the forms of this motive discussed by Zenker in various portions of his book. The only exception is the Bellerophon legend, *op. cit.*, p. 314. Bellerophon is sent by Proitos to Jobates with a letter containing directions to kill the bearer. Jobates receives him amicably and then charges him with the execution of various dangerous exploits (the slaying of the Chimera, and two wars) in the hope that he will thus find his death.

There is a curious trait in the Anglo-Norman form of this motive which at first sight would seem to argue in favor of similarity. Jobates receives Bellerophon amicably and treats him as a favored guest for the space of nine days. Similarly Beves, instead of being thrown at once into prison, is treated to a royal meal at which the king himself waits upon him; see ll. 925 ff. This similarity, however, may be misleading, and we may have here simply the final meal, the last kindness shown the victim before his execution. Under any circumstances there is nothing similar in the *Veneto* text nor in the *Reali*.

The vital objection brought forward here against Zenker's view has been perceived by all those who have had occasion to discuss

<sup>1</sup> So in the Anglo-Norman poem, see ll. 917 and 635 ff. The abstracts in Stimming's study give no indication what reasons the sultan advanced in the versions of *CF*.

the origin of our story.<sup>1</sup> Only Brugger intercedes in its favor,<sup>2</sup> but the reasons which he advances in its support do not seem to me convincing. The similarity between the Beves and the Hamlet legends at this point is deceptive. In the one we have the Urias letter, in the other the rewritten letter, which deceives the recipient. The two may be related, but if so it is the first and not the second that is the older form of the motive. And under these circumstances it does not seem to me impossible that its source for the Beves legend may be found in the Bible. If, however, Brugger should be correct in his doubt concerning the actual influence of the Bible upon Old French narrative literature, a doubt, which seems to be founded upon fact, then this motive will have to be looked upon as a folkloristic trait current in the East and brought into our story at the time of the Crusades. A large portion of it is plainly located in the Orient. Under any circumstances, to prove descent from the Hamlet legend here stronger arguments will have to be produced than the possibility that the author of the original Beves story might have changed the form of the motive to suit his altered purpose.

The second of Zenker's arguments is based upon the motive of the second marriage, clearly present in the Hamlet legend: this he compares with the Civile episode in the French Beves story.<sup>3</sup>

Hamlet, having become king of Jutland, returns to Brittany to visit his father-in-law and his wife. For reasons, which we may omit here, the father-in-law sends him with a second Urias letter to Scotland to ask for him the hand of a lady who had made a vow of chastity and punished all her suitors with death. The purpose of this second letter miscarries not in identical fashion but with similar result. Hamlet is not killed, the lady Hermuthruda falls in love with him, and Hamlet marries her, so that he is now the husband of two wives. However, his father-in-law does not forget his purpose to kill him, and when Hamlet sees his death approaching he tries to arrange another marriage for Hermuthruda. She is most outspoken in her objections to this plan, but this fact does not prevent her from marrying the victor as soon as Hamlet has passed away.

<sup>1</sup> See Deutschbein, *Studien zur Sagengeschichte Englands*, Cöthen, 1906, p. 211; Jordan, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-101; Boje, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> *Zs. f. franz. Spr. u. Litt.*, XXXIV<sup>2</sup>, p. 32, and again XXXV<sup>1</sup>, p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> See *op. cit.*, pp. 25 ff.



In *AF Beves*, separated from his wife and children, arrives in Civile, which city according to the Norse version is beset by unwelcome suitors for the hand of the lady of the land. He wins a victory for her, the lady falls in love with him, and he repels her advances because of his existing marriage with Josiane. Finally he is forced to enter a marriage in form which is to be consummated in fact at the end of seven years, if the first wife should still remain undiscovered at the end of that period. Before this time has elapsed, however, Josiane arrives and the duchess of Civile is forced to accept a friend of Beves as husband in his place.

I refrain from analyzing the arguments advanced by Zenker to prove relationship between these two stories. He even goes so far as to maintain that the hostile bearing toward all suitors, characteristic of Hermuthruda, is still evident in the general attitude of the duchess of Civile. All this reasoning is artificial and forced, and is of no value if the Civile episode represents a variant of the second love adventure of Buovo with Margaria in the Italian poem. Let us see what position the Margaria episode occupies in the plot.

Buovo, the bearer of a Urias letter, arrives in Sadonia (Sinella<sup>1</sup> in the *Reali*) and Margaria, daughter of the sultan, at once falls in love with him and is instrumental in saving his life. Instead of being put to death he is thrown into prison. She visits him and offers her love, which he refuses for the memory of Drusiana. After a time he escapes, finds Drusiana, and together they plan to return to Buovo's home. Fate separates them again, however, and in such a manner that Buovo has every reason to believe that Drusiana has lost her life. He returns to his home alone, and conquers his heritage. Later he receives a call for help from Margaria who is beset by an unwelcome suitor. He goes to her aid and prepares to marry her after his victory when Drusiana fortunately appears in time to prevent the marriage. In consequence Margaria becomes the wife of Teris, one of Buovo's friends.

It is evident that the two episodes are entirely different; what is possible, apparently, to establish for the Civile episode could not be thought of for the Italian scene. Nor is Jordan's explanation, that both forms of this episode are derived from a *Märchen* of eastern

<sup>1</sup> For the explanation of this name see below, p. 32.

origin, of which "The story of the king who lost everything"<sup>1</sup> is a close relative, any more convincing, because Jordan has entirely misunderstood the nature of Buovo's second marriage.

## VI

The real explanation of the whole situation is to be found in the development of *The Legend of the Husband with Two Wives*, which I have studied in detail in my article on "The Lay of Eliduc."<sup>2</sup> Brugger, in both the reviews cited above, referred to the analogies which I collected there without, however, drawing the conclusions which the evidence merits. I may be pardoned, therefore, if I recapitulate here the results of that study. Certain Old French stories are constructed by doubling the exile formula, found in simple form in *Mainet*. A youth, unknown and deprived of his heritage, arrives at a court where he distinguishes himself by his bravery and is raised to an important office. A princess falls in love with him, but their union is opposed by jealous enemies. The hero is maligned and driven from the court, vowing faithfulness to his lady. He arrives at another court where in a similar way he wins the love of another princess but remains steadfast to his first love. In the meantime the first princess is forced to accept another suitor, and the hero arrives just at the crucial moment to hinder the marriage; or, on the other hand, the hero, believing his first love dead, accepts a second union, and then the first lady appears just when the new marriage is to be consecrated. This reduplication explains the plot of the song of *Horn et Rimenhild*, and the romance of *Ille et Galeron* is a variant of the same story.

I also tried to show in the same study that the Beves story in its central plot is based upon the same reduplication of the exile formula. Stated in these words this conclusion is sound, but the argument by which it was reached will need to be modified. My study was based upon *AF*, as shown in the Anglo-Norman poem. If instead we make the Italian version the basis of the comparison, the relation of these poems to each other will stand out in even clearer outline, and this fact in itself is proof that the Italian has preserved a more primitive form of the Beves story.

<sup>1</sup> Chauvins, *Bibliographie arabe*, VI, p. 164.

<sup>2</sup> *Modern Philology*, V, pp. 211-39.

The initial episode, relating the exile of Buovo, stands alone, but beginning with his arrival in Erminia the resemblance is fundamental. Buovo disguises his antecedents, takes on the fictitious name of Agostino,<sup>1</sup> and distinguishes himself by his prowess so that the king's daughter falls in love with him, but he repels her advances. An unwelcome suitor now appears at the head of a hostile army; Buovo is knighted and receives horse and armor from the princess. He wins a victory, and in consequence the king looks favorably upon his marriage to his daughter. Now enemies malign him and he must leave the country. Similarly Charles flees to the court of Galafre at Toledo. He is accompanied by his trusty governor David, a trait not present in the Beves story, but a similar figure is presented by Sinibaldo, who protects Buovo before his flight from his home. They live at Galafre's court under the fictitious names of Mainet and Esmeré. Mainet overcomes Caïmant, the commander of an attacking army, wins the love of Galienne, is knighted, and receives horse and sword. The king is willing to bestow the hand of his daughter upon him, and he kills an unwelcome suitor. Then traitors malign him and he must leave the court.

Horn, driven from his home, arrives at Suddene at the court of Hunlaf. Rigmel, the king's daughter, falls in love with him; he advances his obscure station as an objection. Enemies attack Hunlaf, Horn wins a victory, is maligned by traitors, and must leave the court. He goes to the court of Gudreche in Westir, where he wins the love of the princess Lenburc, though his antecedents are unknown and he lives under the fictitious name of Gudmod. Enemies attack Gudreche, and Horn wins a victory, so that Gudreche decides to give him Lenburc as wife and make him his heir, but Gudmod remains faithful to his first love. Just so Buovo is driven from Erminia and arrives in Sadonia, where Margaria at once falls in love with him. The sultan offers to make him his heir if he will accept Mahomet as his god, but Buovo refuses for the love of Drusiana.

Ille, driven from his country, arrives at the court of Conain, whose sister Galerón falls in love with him. He proves himself invaluable; Conain makes him his seneschal and gives him his sister as

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 10.

wife. Later the two are separated. Ille arrives unknown and as a simple squire at the court of the emperor of Rome and wins the love of the princess Ganor. The emperor looks favorably upon the marriage, but Ille refuses and makes the confession that he has a wife living in Bretagne. Messengers are sent to gather information about her, and when they return with the news that Galeron has disappeared the marriage of Ille and Ganor is arranged for. However, before this union can be solemnized Galeron appears and is reunited with her husband.

Buovo manages to escape from Sadonia and finds Drusiana, who had in the meantime been married to Marcabrun, just as her year of respite had elapsed, and when her marriage was to become a union of fact as well as form.<sup>1</sup> They escape together and after a period they are separated again. Buovo, believing her dead, returns to his home, but in reality Drusiana had escaped to her father's court. Sometime later a call for help reaches him from Margaria, who is beset by an unwelcome suitor, and he hurries to her aid. After a victory he prepares to marry Margaria, when Drusiana appears in time to hinder the wedding and Margaria is given as wife to Buovo's friend Teris, just as in the English version of *King Horn* the hero proposes another marriage for Lenbure.

*Ille et Galeron* may be cited once more as presenting still another similarity to the Italian *Buovo* at this point. I called attention to the fact in my previous article, p. 227, that what is now the solution in this poem must be a later addition to the original story, which probably ended with the reunion of Ille and Galeron. When the latter had entered a nunnery, and Ille is again free, he receives a call of help from Ganor, who is beset by an unwelcome suitor. He hastens to her aid, overcomes her enemy, and marries her.

This comparison of the Italian *Buovo* with these French poems shows clearly the intimate relation which exists between them. The Italian poem, to be sure, does not derive from any one of them, but we are evidently moving in a very small circle of ideas, and the various traits of which the Italian story is composed in its central outline can all be duplicated from a small group of French texts.

<sup>1</sup> Similarly Horn returns to Suddene just in time to frustrate the marriage of Rigmel. The Italian version, especially the *Reali*, definitely emphasizes the time element at this point; see above, p. 12.

The conclusion is evident. The French source of the Italian *Buovo* must represent a lost member of this same group.

In this type of story the rôle of Margaria is an essential element: without her, the plot loses its characteristic symmetry. Brockstedt's thesis,<sup>1</sup> therefore, cannot be maintained. Margaria, not with this name, but in her rôle in the story, must belong to the French source of the Italian, and as a matter of fact there is some evidence which can be advanced in support of this claim. Of the nine *-ant laisses* found in the *Veneto* text, which clearly indicate its French source, one, ll. 2326-36, belongs to the section of the story which has to do with the expedition led by Buovo to the relief of Margaria when her cry for help reaches him. It follows that this particular part of the story stood in the French source, and since the relief expedition has no reason for its existence unless its motivation, Buovo's relation to Margaria, was also present, we have here some very definite proof that the Margaria episode belonged to the French form of the story. If *Floovent* influenced the Beves story—and for the present I am not prepared either to affirm or to deny this claim—that influence was exerted on a French version and can have affected only the externals, but not the essential meaning of the rôle of Margaria.<sup>2</sup>

## VII

Let us now repeat the simplest outline of the formula upon which the French source of the Italian *Buovo* was constructed. Buovo is driven into exile where he wins the love of Drusiana. Traitors malign him and the two lovers are separated. In his new surroundings he wins the love of Margaria which he rejects in order to remain faithful to Drusiana. In the meantime the latter is married. She manages to obtain a year of respite, and Buovo arrives just as this

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Deutschbein was thus quite correct when he compared the Beves story with *Mainet* and *Horn et Rimenhild* in his *Studien zur Sagengegeschichte Englands*, pp. 181-213. His failure to appreciate the full meaning of the approximation which he instituted arose from the fact that he was dealing exclusively with *AF*. Our story has been compared with the Horn legend also by Hoyt in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XVII (1902), pp. 237-46. As result the author claimed "that the central story of the Beves is equivalent to the Horn." Hoyt's study was similarly insufficient because it was based solely upon the English versions of these two poems, but it is important to recognize the fact that even in these forms the two stories are sufficiently similar to lead Hoyt to a conclusion which is essentially correct, though of course not in the literal sense in which its author intended it to be accepted.

period is about to expire. They escape together, are separated once more, and now Buovo, believing Drusiana dead, is on the point of marrying Margaria when Drusiana appears just in time to prevent this fatal step. Margaria accepts a friend of Buovo for her husband.

To this central plot the author made various additions, and of these three should be examined somewhat in detail: (1) the introductory exile formula, (2) the Urias letter, (3) the imprisonment of Drusiana and the author's method of separating the hero and heroine the second time.

*The exile formula.*—What form had this formula in the original story? The two outlines which we may construct critically differ in some details, and we are face to face with the problem as to which we shall accept, the Italian or the French form.

The Italian form is the simpler. Here we have the wicked mother, the traitor who is a former suitor of the mother and also cherishes a family feud against the father, the trusty governor, the attempt of the mother to poison the hero, and his escape. In the French form all these features are present either in *AF* or in *CF* besides various additions. The hero rebukes his mother for her treachery, the trusty governor protects the hero by presenting to the mother apparent evidence that he has executed her command to kill him, the hero enters the castle while the wedding of mother and stepfather is in progress and insults the latter and in consequence the mother orders him to be sold into slavery.

All attempts to solve the difficulty which have been made by Zenker, Deutschbein, Jordan and Boje have apparently failed, for in every case subsequent criticism has been able to show the inaccuracy of the previous contention. What stands out most clearly in this discussion is the fact that whether the Italian or the French form be the better, the form of the exile formula which introduces the Beves plot is unique. While in every instance it is possible to cite parallels for one trait or another in mediaeval literature, no one story can be cited where we have exactly the same combination as here. It is not my purpose to add to this discussion since I am unable to shed new light on the problem. I do, however, wish to examine briefly the thesis maintained by Zenker, denied by Jordan,

Deutschbein, and Boje, and again rehabilitated by Brugger,<sup>1</sup> that the Hamlet legend here also shows a great similarity with our story. In order to make the discussion clear it will be necessary to give an abstract of this portion of the Hamlet legend.

The brothers Horvendill and Fengo are kings of Jutland. Horvendill wins the love of Gerutha, daughter of king Roricus. Amleth is the result of this marriage. But Fengo envies his brother, kills him, and marries Gerutha, pretending that Horvendill had maltreated her and that he had killed him in order to protect her. Amleth feigns madness in order to find a safe opportunity to wreak his vengeance. His ruse is suspected, and attempts are made to lead him to betray himself. Finally after one of these unsuccessful efforts he has an interview with his mother in which he rebukes her, calling her by the lowest names, and so disturbs her that she repents of her past life and again enters upon the path of virtue. Fengo now decides to kill Amleth, but not daring to undertake the deed himself he sends him with a Urias letter to the king of Brittany.

Brugger here emphasizes the following facts: (1) The mother marries the murderer of her husband; (2) the hero has an interview with the mother in which he rebukes her; (3) the method of revenge. Amleth in the end kills Fengo in his bed, just as the returning Buovo in the Italian version visits his stepfather who is lying sick on his couch. Fengo is killed outright, while Dodone is merely ordered to leave the city, but Brugger adds that, being a knight, Beves could of course not murder an enemy who could not defend himself, while the more primitive Amleth does not know such a scruple.

Brugger's sound sense in matters of this kind demands a careful consideration of all his arguments. In the present case he is largely influenced by the fact that he considers the Urias letter of our poem to be a derivation of the similar letter in the Hamlet legend. Since this is unlikely, however, as I have attempted to show above, one important prop of this structure is removed, and what remains is scarcely sufficient to maintain the conclusion. In our story the mother decrees the treacherous death of her husband, the traitor is a former lover, the hero is protected by a trusty governor, the mother tries to kill him, he escapes or is sold into slavery, and so forth. The

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, XXXIV<sup>3</sup>, pp. 30-32.



whole structure of our formula is so different that actual similarity is not evident outside of the few traits mentioned by Brugger. If we now examine these more carefully we shall scarcely be willing to attribute much argumentative value to the third in the above enumeration. In the first place Brugger draws here a single trait from the Italian version, apparently because it suits the argument, while in other instances he is ready to dismiss this version as untrustworthy. It should be noted next that all three versions differ. In *AF* Doon is captured in battle and Beves orders him thrown into a pit full of boiling lead; in *CF* Beves kills Doon in battle and the body is afterward dragged about by horses and hung. Under these circumstances it is futile to try to determine the original form of the story. If the primitive character of the trait is an indication of its age, *AF* would have claims for recognition which the Italian version cannot present. One may ask, however, whether the important feature in this motive in the Hamlet legend does not after all lie rather in the fact of the punishment of the stepfather than in the method in which it is dealt. Fengo is killed by Amleth, but in the Italian version the stepfather, though visited by Buovo while he is lying ill in bed, escapes to King Pepin of France and does not reappear in the story. He receives punishment only in *AF* and *CF*. Then the French versions would agree with the Hamlet legend instead of the Italian, but this agreement does not help the argument, for no further similarity is evident.

This leaves the tumultuous interview of mother and son and the mother's marriage to the traitor as the sole connecting links. The former stands in *AF* and *CF*, the latter is found in all three versions. Both might be looked upon as inventions of the author of the original Beves story. But such reasoning is apparently not supported by what we can observe to have been the habits of the mediaeval authors. It is more probable that our author found both traits in the formula which he followed. If it is necessary to accept relationship of our story with the Hamlet legend, since no similar traits seem to exist in any other of the known forms of the exile formula,<sup>1</sup> it would still not be impossible that the Hamlet legend drew upon the original

<sup>1</sup> The tumultuous interview might be a duplication of the scene of the disturbed feast (the wedding feast in *CF*), which belongs properly to our formula, for it is found in a similar form in the *Mainet*. Duplication of traits is characteristic of the method of composition of the French versions, as I shall show below, p. 32.

form of the Beves story, though of course this is rather unlikely in view of the fundamental differences between the two that have been pointed out. Saxo wrote not long after 1208,<sup>1</sup> and the oldest form of the Beves story must have existed before that date, for the author of the M.H.G. poem on Graf Rudolf, who wrote about 1170, seems to have imitated the source of *AF*.<sup>2</sup> My conclusion is therefore that influence of the Hamlet legend on our story is not proved, besides being highly improbable. The exile motive in the Italian *Buovo* has certain traits in common with other O.Fr. poems, and certain other features of the French *Beves* can likewise be duplicated, while others finally, common to all our versions and therefore characteristic of the oldest form, are unique.

The other two large additions of the original author may be passed over somewhat more rapidly. The Urias letter has been discussed at sufficient length. The second separation of Beves and Josiane or Drusiana makes use of a well-known theme appearing in various mediaeval poems, for which the Eustace legend has in general been accepted as source. For a discussion of it I may refer to Gerould's exhaustive study on "Forerunners, Congeners and Derivatives of the Eustace Legend"<sup>3</sup> and to Jordan's article "Die Eustachius Legende und ihre orientalischen Verwandten."<sup>4</sup>

### VIII

This conception of the origin of the literary form of our story will be materially strengthened if the method of elaboration, followed by the author of the common source of *AF* and *CF*, can be made reasonably clear. I have shown that the formula upon which the original Beves story was constructed consisted in the reduplication of a simple theme. Further examination of the French form of the story will reveal the fact that it is this principle of duplication which has been further developed, thus giving rise to the various incidents which distinguished the new version from the older. The most striking feature of the story and at the same time the source of its

<sup>1</sup> See Zenker, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> See Deutschbein, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-94.

<sup>3</sup> *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XIX (1904), pp. 335-448.

<sup>4</sup> *Herrigs Archiv*, CXXI, p. 341 ff.

undoubted popularity in the Middle Ages, is the separation of two faithful lovers, who are brought together again just as the one or the other is to be lost forever by marriage.

The Italian has two such scenes: (1) Drusiana, married to Marcabrun, stipulates a year of respite and Buovo appears on the very day when this promise ends; that is to say, he arrives on Drusiana's wedding day. (2) Buovo prepares to marry Malgaria and now Drusiana appears on the very day this wedding is in progress. The elaboration of this theme in the French versions is evident.

1. The marriage of Josiane to Yvori is one in name only. In the Anglo-Norman poem she preserves her virginity by means of a magic girdle, in the English poem she wears a magic ring. In *CF* the girdle does not appear but Josiane accomplishes the same result by magic herbs or sorcery. This marriage in form in both versions lasts for seven years just as the marriage in the *Civile* episode, and at the end of this period Beves escapes from prison and carries Josiane away.<sup>1</sup>

2. Josiane, left in Cologne under the protection of Escopart, is married against her will to Duke Miles. Again she protects herself with the help of the magic girdle, not through its magic powers, however, but in that she strangles the unwelcome husband with it. In the English manuscripts she uses either a towel or her girdle, which, however, is not a magic girdle. In *CF* Josiane is told that Beves has been killed (note that in the Italian version Buovo believes Drusiana dead, when he prepares to marry Malgaria), the wedding is prepared, and Beves arrives at the church just as the ceremony is in progress. There is a fundamental difference between the two versions here, and one may hesitate which to accept as the better form. The Anglo-Norman poem duplicates the marriage with Yvori, *CF* rather reflects the marriage of Buovo to Malgaria, where Drusiana appears at a similar opportune moment. *CF* may have the better form, for Horn arrives similarly in Suddene just as the marriage of Rigmel to Modin is in progress<sup>2</sup> and Galeron appears at the church door in Rome when Ille is to be married to Ganor.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the Italian version this period is one year and three months (*Ven.*) or three years and four months (*Real.*).

<sup>2</sup> See Brede und Stengel, *Das angelnormannische Lied vom wackern Ritter Horn*, Marburg, 1883, II. 4098 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See *Ille und Galeron* von Walter von Arras, *Rom. Bibl.*, VII (Halle 1891), II. 4042 ff.

3. The Civile episode is also clearly a duplication of the marriage of Josiane and Yvori. In its essence, to be sure, it is the Malgaria episode of the original poem, a fact which is still apparent in the names of the cities in which the two scenes are located. The continental versions call the city Sivelles, which is unquestionably identical with Sinella, the home of Margarita in the *Realis*: the problem is to explain how Andrea da Barberino obtained this name. In the *Veneto* text the court of Malgaria's father is located at Sadonia and according to Rajna, *Ricerche*, p. 206, this is also the name of this capital in *Frc-it*. He suggests that the original name was the Spanish Sevilla, corrupted by French copyists, and he cites the form Cynelle, from printed French prose versions of *CF*. In that case, however, it would follow that Andrea da Barberino associated the Civile episode, which he must have known (for it seems evident that he allowed himself to be influenced by the French versions) with the Malgaria episode and that he consciously dropped Sadonia for Sinella. Such an attitude seems to me, however, highly improbable besides not being supported by the facts. Where the *Realis* resembles the French versions it does so in complete scenes, but there is no evidence, at least as far as my observation goes, that Andrea consciously selected a single trait in what he believed to be a related French scene in order to incorporate it in his own account. Besides, the Civile episode equals the Malgaria episode when looked at critically and comparatively, but there is no such striking similarity between them that an author like Andrea could have considered an improvement of his story if he accepted the geography of the one for the other. And there certainly could not be pointed out any other possible influence of the Civile episode upon the *Realis* account of the Malgaria episode. Taking all these considerations into account, it seems to me clear that Sinella must come from one of Andrea da Barberino's sources. Since *Ven.* and *Frc-it.* fail us here, we may believe that the name stood in the complete *Riccardiana* text. Even this suggestion, hypothetical as it is, appears to me more reasonable than the opposite view that Sinella is Sinelle (Cynelle) < Sivele < Sivelles.

We may now study the form of the French episode. The marriage of Beves and the duchess of Civile is a marriage in form for a period of seven years, just as that of Josiane and Yvori, but the acting

parties are reversed. The situation is cleared up by the appearance of Josiane as the former was solved by that of Beves. In the continental versions, the horse Arundel recognizes Josiane disguised as *jongleresse*, just as he had recognized Beves, disguised as pilgrim, at Monbrand. Beves offers his marriage to Josiane as an objection to the new union, just as Josiane keeps herself pure for the love of Beves.<sup>1</sup> The method of the duchess of Civile in her advances to Beves is identical with that of Josiane. Both make advances and become violent when Beves repels them, both send a messenger to Beves begging him to come to them, and in both instances the women go to him when he sends back word that he will not come to them.<sup>2</sup>

Finally the appearance of an unwelcome suitor in either version brings the situation to its climax.<sup>3</sup> If the Anglo-Norman poem alone were available here, this statement would apparently be incorrect for the second scene, but its accuracy is guaranteed by the Norse version,<sup>4</sup> and the fact that the larger number of the continental versions explain the attack upon Sivele in a similar manner.<sup>5</sup>

4. We may note also that the Pulican episode of the original story has been divided, and Pulican becomes Bonifey and Escopart. The former is, however, not a pure fabrication of the French author, for the *Realì*, and hence probably also the French source of the Italian version, has the figure of a cousin of Drusiana who in the beginning fills a somewhat similar rôle as the Bonifey of the French versions. This cousin is called Giorgio,<sup>6</sup> later his name appears as Fiorigie in my copy. He is present when Rondello recognizes Buovo,<sup>7</sup> just as Bonifey in the Anglo-Norman poem.<sup>8</sup> When their flight is discovered,<sup>9</sup> he is suspected of complicity and killed by one of Marcabrun's courtiers. Evidently here the *Realì* have again preserved a fuller account than the only other available text, the *Veneto* poem, and it is the figure of Fiorigie which the French author has elaborated with data belonging to Pulican.

<sup>1</sup> See the Anglo-Norman poem, l. 990.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 670-774 and 2855-2885.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 503 and 2824.

<sup>4</sup> See Stimming, *Boeve de Haumtone*, p. cxxvi.

<sup>5</sup> See Stimming, *Tobler volume*, p. 33.

<sup>6</sup> See *Realì di Francia*, chaps. 20 and 23.

<sup>7</sup> See *Realì*, chap. 24.

<sup>8</sup> See ll. 1435 ff.

<sup>9</sup> See *Realì*, chap. 27.

But the direct counterpart of Pulican is Escopart. That the figure belongs to the original story has been recognized by others, but whether his name had the form Pulican (*Veneto*) or Pulicane (*Reali*) is not equally clear. In the Anglo-Norman poem, l. 1780, he says of himself "*jeo sui un fere publicant e ay a non Escopart fort e combatant*." The *Veneto* text calls him Pulican, but shows the same form Pulicant, l. 1471, in one of the *-ant* *laisses*. In consequence Jordan is probably correct in claiming<sup>1</sup> that his mythical origin is a fiction of the Italian.<sup>2</sup> The name Escopart in *AF* or Acopart in *CF* does not need to be the original form. For similar figures in mediaeval stories, see Panzer, *Hilddr-Gudrun*,<sup>3</sup> p. 293.

It is not impossible that the plan of the French author to introduce the Cologne episode was the reason for this splitting of the rôle of Pulican. He plays a prominent part in this scene and the comic possibilities of his character are utilized to their full extent in the description of his baptism. Having kept him overtime, however, the author does not know what to do with him: the figure becomes inconsistent with itself. Escopart, faithful in the beginning, turns traitor and returns to Yvori. The various versions are not in accord here. In *AF* he becomes angry because Beves refuses to take him along during his second exile. In one version of *CF* (*R*) he had left Beves soon after his marriage, because he found the Christian religion not to his taste, in another (*V*<sup>2</sup>) he leaves Beves because he does not like the pay which he received for his services. The other versions of *CF* dismiss him apparently without further notice, nor is it possible to determine from Stimming's abstract<sup>4</sup> whether he appears again. In *AF* Yvori fits him out with an army to capture Josiane. He finds her after her imprisonment and carries her away. This same fact is related by the Vienna version (*W*) of *CF*,<sup>5</sup> and in *R* also Yvori intrusts him with a ship and army as reward for his return. Finally, when Sabot liberates Josiane he kills Escopart in *AF*, and this trait reappears in *W*. Whether it is present also in *PR* which usually agree with *W* cannot be determined from Stimming's abstract.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> Note the elaborate description of his origin in the *Reali*, chap. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Halle, 1901.

<sup>4</sup> See *Tobler volume*, p. 30.

<sup>5</sup> See Boje, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

The uncertainty of the various versions with reference to this character is evidence that his final development seemed illogical. Their disagreement emphasizes, therefore, the impression that the French plot with reference to Escopart is an awkward elaboration of a scene that is perfectly logical and complete in the Italian version.

By the side of these larger duplications, minor repetitions are constant. In fact a large portion of the variations of *CF* belong to this category. To enumerate these would lead too far, but the following points deserve mention:

1. Beves first rebukes his mother (l. 211) and later disturbs a feast and attacks his stepfather (ll. 286 ff.).

2. The theft of the horse Arundel is thought of twice in *AF*. First the prince of England tries to steal him (ll. 2551 ff.), then Sabot dreams that a hundred lions kill the horse (l. 2734). Arundel kills the prince of England because he allows no stranger to approach him, and throws Yvori to the ground, when the latter tries to ride him (ll. 1020 ff.).

3. The palmer whom Beves meets on his way to Damascus is the son of Sabot sent out to seek him (l. 837). Similarly Sabot, disguised as a palmer, seeks Josiane (l. 2743) and both later hunt Beves till they find him (l. 2963).

4. Doon throws a knife at the messenger who informs him of the identity of Gyrard de Dygon who had enlisted under him, and kills his brother (l. 2221).<sup>1</sup> In like manner the mother kills the messenger who brings her the news of Doon's defeat (l. 2371). Both traits are peculiar to *AF*.

5. Beves has a dream telling him of Josiane's danger in Cologne in version *CT* of *CF*, just as Sabot (l. 2731) and his wife (l. 2738) dream that Beves is in danger. In both cases relief is at once planned.

The explanation offered here does not solve all the difficulties which the problem presents. Though *It* has proved itself independent in tradition and of fundamental critical value, it does not

<sup>1</sup> Let us note in passing that this brother plays no further rôle in *AF* while in *It* he is trusted adviser of Dodone, when the latter first receives the invitation to come and kill Buovo's father. In *CF*, on the other hand, Doon in his initial attack is aided by a nephew, but the scene referred to here is absent.



follow that the form which it gives us of the Beves story is in every way identical with the original version. I have shown that in its essential outline it is built on the same formula as the *Song of Horn* and *Ille et Galeron*. Since this similarity is completely shown by the *Veneto* text as we have it, we may conclude that the lost original did not seriously exceed in quantity the story contained in this manuscript. Whether it was of insular or continental origin remains, however, still an open question, for *Horn* belongs to England and *Ille et Galeron* was written in France, and in the very region where *CF* locates the Beves story. To be sure, certain features seem to point to the continent. There is in the first place the very definite agreement of *CF* with *It*, and further certain passages in *AF* which attach the story externally and mechanically to insular environment. Of this type the race of Arundel after which the city of Arundel is named (l. 2522) is the most prominent. It locates the story in the neighborhood of Little-Hampton-on-the-sea (*Hampton sur mer*, l. 2811) and Arundel in Sussex.

The whole question must, however, remain open for the present. These English features might be secondary additions, even if the primitive story was insular in origin, and the geography of the existing versions is not in discord with this conception. Insular in setting but not very distinct in outline, *It* might have shifted it to suit its own environment, *CF* might have located the scene in France, but failed to wipe out all the insular traces, and *AF* might have elaborated the same data into a distinct insular scene and locality.

† JOHN E. MATZKE

## CRIMINALS IN SHAKESPEARE AND IN SCIENCE

Literary characters become extinct like races of men and beasts. The Vice with his lath and the Fool with his bells and bauble have vanished like the Mound-Builder or the aurochs, and their fossil remains are buried in old plays and prints. They dropped from the stage as the life which they imitated dropped out of the world. Out of the one and off the other dropped Fool and Devil long ago, and after them, in the last century, tumbled the villain. He could not bear the light or breathe the air of our day.

Black and piratical of hair and of look, as we remember him, he was at the beginning an outcast, but before the end cock of the walk, and the tragedy was pretty much of his making. The world had dealt hardly with him, and he dealt still more hardly with the world. He scoffed at respectability and jeered at the cowardice and stupidity of everybody about him, yet he himself, inclining much to freethinking, was plunged in melancholy. He was the villain and he knew it, until the end. Then his heart was touched, once he had been given the deathblow or had given it.

Such, with boasting and gloating, blasphemy and atheism added to him, and all excuse utterly taken away, was the villain of the Elizabethans. In him was more poetry, less humanity, or no humanity worthy of the word. There, in three centuries, was change enough you would think, and why is his like now no longer to be found in higher drama and fiction, but cast into the outer darkness of penny dreadfuls and melodrama? One reason lies without us, in our present knowledge of criminal character; the other, the deeper, in the spirit and temper of our age.

The instinctive or incorrigible criminal against the person, as we now know him, is no such compact and single soul as Richard III or Iago. He is a survival of savagery or the fag-end of degeneration, and is the most rudimentary and inconsistent of men. He knows no remorse, is endowed with no moral sensibility, yet seldom is he by instinct wholly cruel or base. It is the common notion, and the Elizabethan, that if there be any good in a criminal, it will

take the form of repentance for his crime; the fact is that much oftener it has nothing to do with his crime. A murderer like Lacenaire or Dostoeffsky's Raskolnikoff will risk his own life to save a cat's or a canary's, or will tenderly cherish the life of a comrade or of his aged parents. Nor does he love evil for its own sake. If he boasts, it is simply of the achievements of his genius; if he gloats, it is over his inferior adversary; and it is an impossibility, as Tolstoi avers, for him to think ill of himself. Instead of being an atheist he is particularly inclined, primitive being that he is, to be superstitiously devout in the performance of religious duties, and at most he shows that disposition to jest and flout at what is sacred which, in the lower classes and the simpler peoples such as the mediaeval Christians and the Greeks, is not incompatible with entire and implicit faith. All in all he is a man, the simple victim of his brutal instincts, not a devil. He is not the antithesis, least of all consciously the antithesis, of what is human.

These things we know as the fruit of wide observation and scientific study in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. *A-priori* thinking has proved of as little avail in psychology as in chemistry and medicine. What turned men away from it to the study of the object itself was, however, the new spirit, the more humane, revolutionary sentiment of the century before. Romantic sympathy and the philosophy of the return to nature began to do away with the villain even before men had studied the criminal. "Damns had had their day," and poets petulantly made him the hero. It was the age of the noble bandit and the "magnanimous highwayman" (though of course the ignoble ones lingered on), of Goetz with the iron hand, Karl Moor, Rob Roy, and the "villain-heroes" of the Terrific School and Byron. All of these were variously incompatible, sentimental mixtures of utter good and utter evil that grew more piquant but hardly less preposterous down to the days of Bulwer and Victor Hugo. No such beings as Eugene Aram, Dona Lucrezia, Claude Frollo, or Jean Valjean ever blessed and cursed the earth. "Embodied antitheses, premeditated paradoxes," as Hugo's characters have been called, they are attempts at representing the complexity of life which themselves, as has been said, are quite simple. No convict who, after eighteen years in the galleys, had risked every-

thing to escape from them and everything to keep from returning, would, with death in the shape of Thénardier and his jackals staring him in the eye, have burnt his own arm instead of theirs and tossed the poker out of the window. No bloodhound like Javert, for such cause as his, ever threw himself into the Seine. No robbers or murderers like Clifford or Aram ever spoke, from their hearts, with the tongues not of men but of angels. The mystery of the inconsistency and complexity of human character, criminal or normal, cannot be comprehended in a formula or penetrated by a flight of imagination, and it was reserved for such as Mérimée and Dostoieffsky, Zola, Ibsen, and Hardy to get at it by a surer, more devious way. Dostoieffsky and Zola followed and shadowed the criminal mind as the detective shadows the criminal; Mérimée and Hardy explored the illogical and pragmatic morality of the lower classes and simpler peoples; and one and all they left the impedimenta of their own morality behind. Hugo and Bulwer think they are holding up the mirror to nature when they make their Ishmaelish heroes both good and wicked, but these—and Dostoieffsky, Balzac, and Zola admit as much—make them neither. "Men are neither good nor evil," says Balzac, "but are born with instincts and inclinations." "My characters are not wicked," says Zola in the preface to *L'Assommoir*; "they are only ignorant, and are stunted by the harsh toil and misery of their lives." *Jenseits von Gut und Böse*, in short, is the word, and this monistic, or indeed biological, attitude has made it possible in some fashion to comprehend and unify traits which otherwise remained irreconcilable.

It was quite another atmosphere that Shakespeare breathed, an atmosphere charged with the dualism of the Middle Ages and earlier times. Good and evil were as the poles asunder; God was in his heaven no doubt, but the Devil was in the world. The exuberant pantheistic philosophy of Giordano Bruno, friend of Sidney and Greville, had left no impress upon English thought. To the four elements still were attributed four qualities—hot, cold, moist, and dry—not, as our monistic science would demand, but two. The world was divided between light and darkness, and the darkness was as real as the light. There were devils of fire and water, the earth and the underworld; and every man had a devil of his own,

to whom, when, like Brabantio, he "cursed his better angel from his side," he fell a prey. Atheism then meant not skepticism but enmity with God. A man had to take sides, just as then—and nominally in some countries of Europe today—a man must be either Protestant or Catholic. It was still an age of violence and suspicion, when a man's hand was against every other man, and the *entente cordiale* between nation and nation and stranger and stranger was unknown. "An enemy hath done this" was the first thought of Benvenuto Cellini when his luck turned, as it was of the man in the parable; and again and again, with cause or without cause, it is the thought of people in a like plight in Shakespeare. In all cases the enemy was a man, or Fortune, or the stars. Such a spirit animates the literary activity of the day. Eulogy and invective, panegyric and philippic, sonnets of adulation or vituperation, diatribe, epigram, satire, all of them such forms of partisan prose or poetry as are now extinct, were rife. It is a motive force in the drama. In the mysteries God and the angels were enthroned at one end of the stage and Hell-Mouth yawned at the other. To do the mischief devils were ever at hand: in the Elizabethan plays there were villains. At this point the art of the playwright was in sympathy with the popular literature, legend or novella (essentially a literature of intrigue) from which he drew his plot, and with the drama of the ancients. But the villains took on larger and demonic proportions as the fate and the gods of the ancients receded from view. In Elizabethan drama "fate" is mainly a commonplace of Senecan rhetoric; whatever the heroes may say when the world is against them, their wills, as in Seneca himself, are free; and the "fate" of Othello is Iago. As Mr. Bradley has shown, it is nearly always evil that in Shakespeare brings about the convulsion in the order of things, and in that day when men still believed in diabolical possession and total depravity it is natural that often the evil should be embodied in a particular person. In Desdemona's case the cause might have been neither personal nor evil; it might have been her disregard of her father's wishes and the proprieties of Venetian society, or, again to quote Mr. Bradley, a misunderstanding between herself and the Moor "due to racial differences in physiognomic expression"; but it is—much more

picturesquely and expeditiously for the stage—the tempter, “his Moorship’s ancient.” In Lear’s case or in Gloster’s it is not their own folly but the ferocity of their children. In no case does Shakespeare represent men as overwhelmed by anything so vague and neutral as social forces, or as devoured by their own passions alone. It is by other men’s passions, other men’s deeds; and life is a temptation, a hand-to-hand struggle. Ibsen’s Hedda Gabler, on the other hand, and Pinero’s Second Mrs. Tanqueray go to rack and ruin of themselves. Out of their hearts—out of the bosom of an indifferent world—are the issues of their lives; and a bustling villain would but be in the way.

As a result of their concrete and dualistic way of thinking and of their relish for intrigue, the Elizabethan playwrights paint their villains many a shade blacker than they find them. The wickedness of Aaron and Iago, of Webster’s Flamineo and Bosola, is quite above and beyond the mark, and overtops that in the chronicles and novels whence they came. The public hankers after sound and fury, the dramatist requires a propeller for his play, and both crave contrasts total and acute. Nowhere does this tendency appear so unmistakably as in the handling of what was in the beginning popular and non-dramatic material, the misconception of Machiavelli. The Elizabethan Machiavel is a diabolical figure such as that sketched of the Elizabethan villain above, and, besides, one who has at his beck and call the qualities of the lion and the fox, violence and craft, who loves himself alone and uses other men “as nails to drive out one another,” hates God, jeers at his conscience, and revels and riots in lust, dissimulation, blasphemy, and murder. Thus the Florentine statesman became a mythical figure, a devil-let-loose like Judas, and was fabled to have perished like him, blaspheming and despairing, by his own hand. On the stage he was a standing type of the villain, as the Clown, the Fool, or the Braggart Soldier was of the humorous person, sometimes, as in Marlowe’s Barabas and Shakespeare’s Aaron, quoting, in more or less garbled form, maxims from the *Principe*, and sometimes, as in Iago, not in explicit terms a Machiavel at all. Indeed, like these other types, he is but old wine in a new bottle, for out of Seneca, along with much else, came into Elizabethan tragedy a character such as Atreus, who

likewise practices villainy wholesale, lies and dissembles, gloats, blasphemes, and pays homage to the powers infernal. Such, even among literary men in Shakespeare's day, is the notion current of the character of the most enlightened political thinker of the age; and no more striking proof of the benighted dualism of the age could be required. Mistaking him for a deliberate enemy of society, they turn him into a ravening beast of prey. And monster of iniquity that he is, he knows it. He canvasses the situation from top to bottom, and stands a villain self-confessed and self-confuted. It is a paradox imbedded in Christian and other religious belief that your devil and your sinner know what they are. Machiavelli, if a sinner, did not know. He and Aretine, who—far more justly—shared his infamy, ignored the claims of the conscience, but they did not flout them or brush them aside; they were far from being atheists; they and their contemporaries such as Cellini and the Borgias kept the innocence and buoyancy of their spirits to the end, and they surprise you in their portraits, as Vernon Lee has remarked, with the nobility of their countenances. There, side by side, are truth and Elizabethan fiction; and, as in the adage, truth is stranger.

Of Machiavels there is a great number on the Elizabethan stage, from Marlowe's Jew of Malta on. Shakespeare has three—Aaron, Richard the Third, and Iago. At the hellhound Aaron, though there are many who disdain to account him Shakespeare's, we will take a look because he embodies and illustrates the spirit of Shakespeare and his age. With his Moor the poet out-Marlowes Marlowe with his Jew. He is of a burlier strain of villainy, and he makes up in bluster and jocular ferocity whatever he lacks in fawning and fraud. His atheism is more emphatic and mutinous than that of Barabas. Like him he is repeatedly called a devil, but because of his color, not his race, for it was an old superstition, not then extinct, that the Devil when he appeared took the form of a Moor, while the Jews (ye are of your father, the Devil!) were held to be devils born. But by suffering his unholy light to shine Aaron earns the title for himself, and he carries it with obstreperous complacency. He ha-ha's when he stabs a man, and roars and curses when he is foiled; he brags of the "evils he has done," wishes at the end that he might



do ten thousand more, and if one good deed in all his life he did he does repent it from his very soul. Fee, faw, fum! A completer product there could not be of that dualistic way of thinking which conceived (as we, for that matter, instinctively do still) of cold and darkness, not as negative but as opposed and antagonistic to heat and light, told the tale of the mortal combat between the gods of summer and of winter, and gave birth to such conceptions as hell and heaven, Antichrist, devil, devil's mass, and devil's litany. This is but man turned upside down, or wrong side out, and thrust beyond the pale of the species. But the criminal is as much a man as you or I, and in the biological scale merges somewhat more imperceptibly with you and me than man himself merges with the beast.

Richard Crookback, who is Shakespeare's beyond a cavil, is cast in Aaron's mold. He is one, as Richmond says to his soldiers, who hath ever been God's enemy. Fitted out with teeth at his birth like the offspring of the incubus (or devil) known to folklore, hunchbacked, lame, unutterably hideous, he resolves, quite summarily, after a fashion not warranted even by the exigencies of "exposition," that since he cannot be a lover he will be a villain—

I am determined to prove a villain  
And hate the idle pleasures of these days.

Or as he puts it, more roundly, in *Henry VI, Part III*,

since the heavens have shaped my body so  
Let hell make crook'd my mind to answer it.

"I, that have neither pity, love, nor fear," he in this passage exclaims again to the same effect as in the later play—

And if King Edward be as true and just  
As I am subtle, false, and treacherous—

and in neither passage is there an inkling of irony. A queer creature, this, to have the gift of seeing himself as others see him, both body and soul. As a matter of fact, just as the criminal fails to realize his depravity, so the cripple, as Dr. Brandes remarks, often fails to realize his deformity. At either point Richard is but the voice of poet and people. In accord with their sentiments he looks upon his deformity as putting him beyond the verge of all that is human, as setting the seal on his depravity instead of explaining and extenuating

it. Such was the temper of Shakespeare's time. No physiological psychology enters into the question; Richard, in his avowals above, cheerfully takes the responsibility on himself. Let hell complete the work of heaven! And it does. He is charged to the muzzle with Machiavellian principles of egoism, promptitude and resolution, violence and fraud.<sup>1</sup> He boasts and gloats like other Machiavels, fawns upon and fondles the minions of his villainy, and plays the hypocrite as egregiously as Barabas. When Buckingham brings to him the Mayor and Aldermen with the offer of the crown, the ruffian buffoon appears to them in a gallery, prayerbook in hand, between two bishops, and "plays the maid's part, still answers nay and takes it." A character of such finesse, he was recently taken by a great student of criminology to be the highest example of the criminal player of a *coup d'état*! A character of such unmitigated ferocity, overriding, espousing, butchering whom he will, he was recently taken by two criminologists and the Head of the Danish Police to be the type of a kingly cripple struggling with a harsh and pitiless environment. If anything, the environment struggles with him.

On the eve of battle, however, Richard is no longer himself, the brisk Machiavel of old. Though it is crudely and ambiguously represented, he experiences something like remorse. The Machiavel, monstrous and grotesque as he was, had the grace, in the person of Aaron, for instance, to disdain the sentimentality of a deathbed repentance. In him, of course, this is the bravado or "reprobate mind" of the enemy of God: in the criminal it is the unobtrusive, unconscious symptom of "moral atrophy." Richard dreams that the souls of all that he had murdered come to his tent, and "every one did threat to-morrow's vengeance on the head of Richard." Once Queen Anne complains that as she lay by his side with his timorous dreams she still was waked. "Their sleep is disturbed by no uneasy dreams," says Dr. Wey, of Elmira, concerning the criminals he has observed, and investigators from Gall to Lombroso agree with him that in criminals signs of repentance, remorse, or despair are seldom to be detected. Among four hundred murderers Bruce Thompson found signs of remorse in but three, and of seven

<sup>1</sup> As on p. 5; cf. Professor E. S. Meyer, *Machiavelli and the Elizabethan Drama*.

hundred criminals Ferri found only 3.4 per cent who showed signs of repentance or who appeared at all moved in recounting their misdeeds. If criminals have regrets, it is, as with Aaron (though hardly to the tune of his devil's litany), because they have not committed more crimes or because they have let themselves be caught. Very simply, they are sorry not for the good they may have done but for the pleasure and profit they have missed. Only those betray acute sorrow and real remorse, says Despine, who have committed the criminal act under the influence of a violent passion or by accident; only those repent, quite logically, who are endowed with the moral capacity; and in neither class is Richard. These ghosts of his, indeed, are not mere voices of conscience but the fierce old-fashioned sort; when they rise the lights burn blue, and—primitively and superstitiously—they appear at the same time to another, Richmond, the victor of the morrow. Yet from an historical point of view, the superstition of the appearance of the ghost of the murdered to the murderer is the beginning and basis of the spiritual phenomenon we call remorse; even in Shakespeare's day it meant not supernatural punishment and nemesis alone; and quite out of keeping with his Machiavellian scoffings at conscience before and after, Richard takes the ghostly words to heart.

What prompted the poet here was his morality. After the crime or in the clutches of death many of his criminals have qualms of some sort or other. In part it is a story-telling device, old but ever new, whereby the slayer, villain or hero, furnishes a good situation lamenting his fallen foe, as does the Percy in the old ballad, or Aeneas when he bewails Lausus, hard as he had tried to kill him. But the pith of the matter is that Shakespeare cleaves to the conscience of the Elizabethan age. From of old, among Christians as among pagans, in the Hebrew prophets as in the Vedas, there has prevailed the notion that, as Westermarck puts it, in sin itself there is a power which must destroy the sinner, and when so late as the nineteenth century the Calvinist Chalmers speaks of "the inherent misery of the evil affections," the notion merely survives in philosophic form. Hence innumerable tales of bad men making a bad end; hence the Furies or Erinnyes; hence, in the long run, Dante's hell, where each crime carries its own sting and the homicides stand

boiling up to the brows in blood. In all this there is involved nothing like sorrow for the sin itself, compunction, or repentance. Cardinal Beaufort, in the *Second Part of Henry VI*, dies an unrelenting murderer; yet he has "the horrors," as we say, and so bad a death, Warwick moralizes, argues a monstrous life. And the Queen in *Cymbeline*, failing of her evil ends,

Grew shameless-desperate; open'd, in despite  
Of heaven and men, her purposes; repented  
The evils she hatch'd were not effected; so  
Despairing died.

The devils themselves believe and tremble! Much more a case of conscience is Richard's, and his example perhaps (though from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century there is many another), as well as their Kantian philosophy of morality, prompted Schiller and Coleridge, in Franz Moor and Osorio, to perpetrate what Professor F. C. Sharp calls in the latter case a "monstrosity, sorrow for a misspent life, horror of crime and self-loathing, made to arise in a nature that possesses neither sympathy nor honor nor antipathy to treachery." Either form of internal disturbance, Richard's or the Queen's, is not to be found in the incorrigible criminal; the Queen's at least, we may hope, is, except among madmen, not to be found at all.

Of unrepentant horror there is more in Shakespeare than has ordinarily been observed. *Macbeth* is commonly spoken of as a tragedy of remorse, and in hero and heroine as criminals *par passion* or *par occasion* (which, we need not determine) remorse would not have been out of place. But remorse they have none. Professor Bradley, following Campbell, grants as much in the case of Lady Macbeth, but although he recognizes that at its face value the language of Macbeth does not bear him out in this opinion, he holds that the inner being of the thane and king is convulsed by conscience. Professor Sharp, on the other hand, in his interesting book contends that in both hero and heroine there is no remorse, but fear, "not sorrow for sin, but fear of the dagger and the poisoned cup." Such feelings and considerations play a large part no doubt in both characters, but as Mr. Bradley makes plain, surely neither is delivered over to the bare fear of detection and punishment. Macbeth and

Lady Macbeth have a horror of murder and of blood, and in such horror, after the crime, they live and perish. Even in horror of the crime they perpetrate it. When the thought first comes to Macbeth it is a "horrid image," which sets his hair on end and blinds him to the world about him; it seems to him a "horrid deed" as he ponders it; and as he stealthily takes his way "withered Murder towards his design moves like a ghost." Immediately afterward, his hands are a sorry sight, and he is afraid to think what he has done. Look on it he dare not. And all that follows is but nemesis—the blood that will not wash out of his own or his Lady's memory, the Amen which sticks in his throat, the voices that bid him sleep no more, the visitation of the ghost, the sleep-walking and "the terrible dreams that shake us nightly," the "scorpions" in his mind, the "torment" and "restless ecstasy." This is no sheer dread of detection or punishment; neither is it anything recognizable as repentance or remorse; it is rather a bodying-forth of unearthly fears and more than mortal misery. It is in the form of fear, say Lippert and Westermarck, that conscience appears among the simpler peoples. Orestes and other impious ones, hated by the gods and haunted by the Eumenides, do not humble themselves but run mad. All of us, I surmise, have at least some vague and unaccountable notion of hardened and impenitent criminals as miserable and glum. "In that gloomy brow," whispers the heroine in melodrama, "is written a volume of villainy." And they that are good shall be happy, forsooth! The fact is that oftener criminals are contented, cheerful bodies. After the crime they go on a lark, buy new clothes, and have their photographs taken. Instead of hearing voices, like the Scottish thane and the English king, they are likely, after a murder, to fall asleep on the spot, like Pózdnyshof in the *Kreutzer Sonata*, or at least, like Benvenuto Cellini, to sleep the better afterward. They have done their work, they have had their way.

Much of this effect of "the horrors" is produced by what is purely technical: like most Elizabethan and Shakespearean characters, Macbeth comments on his feelings instead of uttering them. He dwells on the misery and hideousness of his situation rather than on his own purposes and the end in view. As he approaches the royal chamber, it is a dagger that he sees before him, not

the crown. He dwells on the circumstances and consequences of the crime, moreover—punishment, public indignation, the deep damnation of violating the laws of hospitality and of killing a king so virtuous and meek. He is preoccupied with all the scruples of pit and poet. Likewise he has a curious eye, as critics have remarked, for what poetically befits the occasion, and cries to the earth not to hear his steps for fear the very stones prate of his whereabouts—and so betray him?—and so “take the present horror from the time which now suits with it.” Thus King John, in the midst of his bloody instructions to Hubert, expresses a wish, as Professor Raleigh observes, for the fitting stage effects—darkness, the churchyard, and the sound of the passing-bell. Lady Macbeth is more business-like while she is strengthening her husband’s feeble knees, but even she appeals to his pride, as Professor Firkins says, rather than to his ambition, and in her solitary meditations she flies wide the mark. Mr. Sharp sees in her invocation “come you spirits that tend on mortal thoughts” signs that she had taken to her husband’s sentimentalizing ways. Instead of praying to be unsexed and filled from crown to toe top-full of direst cruelty, she might more appropriately be longing and scheming for the “golden round” of Scotland, “burning,” as Holinshed says, “with unquenchable desire to bear the name of queen.” But by her sentimentality, if for the moment we must call it that, Lady Macbeth came honestly enough. The kings and queens in the early histories, as *King John*, *Richard II*, and *Richard III*, measure and analyze their woes and vie with each other endlessly in their lamentations, though in the meantime some necessary question of the play be then to be considered. And in so late a play as *Antony and Cleopatra* the hero, when his star is setting, cries, dropping into a Hebraism which the commentators naively suspect him to have caught from the lips of King Herod or picked up in the streets of Jerusalem,

O that I were  
Upon the hill of Basan, to outroar  
The horned herd.

Teach me, he beseeches, and such a lesson the Elizabethan heroes are forever beseeching to be taught, though they know it but too well already:

Teach me,  
Alcides, thou my ancestor, thy rage.  
Let me lodge Lichas on the horns o' the moon.

He has in mind the Hercules of Seneca, and it is from Seneca, in large measure, that this vein of self-conscious comment and declamation is derived. With her husband Lady Macbeth's invocation has nothing in the world to do. There is many another like it—Othello's invocation to black vengeance in the hollow hell, Iago's climactic outcry to hell and night, and those speeches which are the source of all of these, the fire-eyed invocations and apostrophes to the infernal powers of Seneca's Medea and Atreus. The psychology is of the simplest: your hero prays to God, and your villain prays, with the Jews and heathen, to the Devil!

Macbeth and his Lady stop to consider what sort of figure they are cutting, therefore, mainly because they have not been taught to speak realistically, to the point. It is a matter of dramatic technique not as yet entirely differentiated from the epical and the lyrical. And as we have seen, it is a matter of morals—the way of the transgressor is hard. The result is unmistakable damage to the character. Macbeth does the deed forgetful of his purpose, mindful only of his sin. He kills the king in horror: you wonder, and a few candid critics have wondered, how he manages to kill him at all. Every man in order to be able to do a thing, says Tolstoi, whose sense of sin seldom overrides his sense of fact, has to consider it important and good. As in the days when there was no king in Israel, every man does, and always will do, that which is right in his own eyes. And the sinner sins nothing loath. "In the joy of the actors lies the sense of any action. *That* is the explanation, that the excuse." How shallow and obsequious of us to bow to Shakespeare and almost all the choice and master spirits in drama and fiction up to the present age, in their opinion that though there is joy in our hearts when we engage in works of justice and mercy there is no joy in the heart of the miser as he hoards or in the heart of the murderer as he kills. Do we do good because we love it and do they do evil because they hate it? We at least know better. Yet even Tolstoi, his sense of fact for the moment quite overriden by this superstitious notion of sin, lets Nikita, in *The Power*



of *Darkness*, abhor the hideousness of his crimes as he commits them as deeply as does Macbeth. "But before Nikita was led into so dire a situation," says Stevenson, "he must have been tempted, and temptations are beautiful."

It is a frank way generally that wicked folk in Shakespeare have of talking or thinking about themselves and their doings. Lady Macbeth prays to be filled with cruelty and have her milk turned to gall; Macbeth calls his deed treason and murder and bewails his hangman's hands; and all the criminals, from Aaron to Iachimo, plead guilty by word or deed, as criminals never do. This is further proof, which M. Jusserand almost alone among critics has appreciated, of the failure completely to evolve the dramatic form. No Elizabethan dramatist—no dramatist after all before the middle of the nineteenth century—quite realized that a character is not one who tells his story but acts it, and speaks, not for audience or dramatist, but only for himself. In their dramaturgy, as in their stage-management, they used signs and placards. Don John and Borachio call themselves villain, and the puritanical Angelo calls his passion lust, just as in earlier times the devils in the miracle-plays bawl out to their simple-minded audience in the market-place or on the green that they are "full of gret envy, of wrathe, and wycked hate"; or, for that matter, as did Seneca's truculent heroes and heroines more than a thousand years before. In all times, and long after the days of Steele and Sheridan, the purposes of satire have been accommodated by an unreasonable readiness in quack and pettifogger, rake-hell and Delilah, through soliloquy or confidential conversation, to expose themselves; and all that keeps the good characters—and it does not quite keep them—from making their exhibit in turn, is, as they themselves immodestly remark, their modesty. So says the marvel of Elizabethan art, Othello, as well as the eighteenth-century prigs and prudes; and many an Elizabethan hero like Shakespeare's Brutus and many a heroine like Imogen are spoiled for us a bit by their complacence. Artistic reticence such as ours, moreover, is, as I have remarked elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> out of harmony with the system of dramaturgy in Shakespeare's time, founded on the

<sup>1</sup>Cf. an article of mine on "Anachronism in Shakespeare Criticism," in *Modern Philology*, April, 1910, pp. 561-62, 567-68; and one on Shylock in the *Journal of English and German Philology*, April, 1911, pp. 266-67.

culture of the time. Whom to hate and whom to admire the Elizabethan audience was always told and taught, for explicitness' sake, at the beginning; and in that day the dramatist would not have dared to risk the puzzling of men's wits as only an Ibsen dared—and puzzled them—at the close of the century just gone by, by practicing on them any notions of relativity. But cowards like Parolles in *All's Well That Ends Well* or Bessus in Beaumont and Fletcher's *A King and No King* confess their cowardice at the end, when they no longer can be serving the needs of information, and on the whole we may be sure that artists like Shakespeare and Beaumont and Fletcher, not to mention Sheridan or Schiller, if they had had notions of relativity to express, would have managed, for all the refractoriness of their medium, if not to express them, at least not to set them at naught. Even when she is not speaking of herself, Lady Macbeth subdues language to her thought no more than when she is, and she draws up an abstract of her husband's character as roundly as if it were an indictment:

Thou wouldst be great,  
Art not without ambition, but without  
The illness should attend it; what thou wouldst highly,  
That wouldst thou holily; wouldst not play false  
And yet wouldst wrongly win.

Save one, the words might have been spoken by Saint Peter at the gate.<sup>1</sup>

The truth is, the standard of morality is a rigid one, and Shakespeare makes his criminals conform to it even in their nonconformity. Macbeth and Lady Macbeth call it a murder because it is a murder, because public and poet could see it in no other light. Only in a

<sup>1</sup> This failure of the dramatist to keep the point of view of the character is as unmistakable in characters of mingled nature as in the Machiavels. "Pitiful," cries Tamora, "I know not what it means;" just as Cassius says, in soliloquy,

Well, Brutus, thou art noble; yet I see,  
Thy honourable metal may be wrought  
From that it is dispos'd;

and proceeds to show that he is the one to work it. His love for Desdemona Iago calls lust, just as the Puritan Angelo uses the word in speaking of his love for the saintly Isabella, and that fairly decent chap Valerio, in *The Coxcomb*, in speaking of his love for the pure-minded and beautiful Viola. In retrospect and remorse, such a word might be in place, but thus in the tide of passion, never. Temptations are not hideous but beautiful, and no man, good or bad, can find it in his heart deliberately to besmirch his dearest desires. Men act from inclination, and they do not incline to what they hate.

comic light could poet or public then look on a criminal's fair-speaking, as in those very explicit instances where the words "convey" and "purchase" are used for "steal," or where Shakespeare's and Dekker's whores and bawds indignantly disdain to answer to such names. Thus before the nineteenth century only the slighter forms of criminality got treated with any measure of realism. The giddy comic muse ventured far nearer to fact than the tragic, but she shied away from murder. And another truth is, that the poet, like others of his day and after, does not realize the spontaneousness, the unconsciousness of sin. Lying and hypocrisy come to a man naturally, but in Shakespeare or in Molière, in Corneille, Steele, or Sheridan, no man, however hardened, ever slips into either. The Lying Lover is virginally aware that he is a liar; Tartuffe both is and intends to be a fraud. So Richard and Macbeth are the murderers they intend or hesitate to be. Men of principle, these, not of impulse.

It is in quite another vein that your incorrigible criminal talks—for as such for the moment Macbeth and his Lady may be treated along with the Machiavels, since their frankness of speech, like his horror, with which as criminals they might conceivably be affected after the murder, appears before. He has no mind to remorse, we have seen, and he has none to plain-speaking as well. He has what Shakespeare has not granted him, his own natural point of view, and is not consciously the antipode of all morality. Fingersmith is his word for thief, *apaier* for assassinate. Rouet, stepping to the scaffold where he was to suffer for robbery and murder, muttered, "Cause a man to suffer death for such a trifle!" And Dombey, writing after his first murder, said that he hoped that he should be pardoned this bit of childishness. Often, indeed, criminals go so far as to express satisfaction with their conduct, like Lemaire, who avowed that he did not repent of anything except that he had not killed them all (both father and son). Avinian, another murderer, begged as a favor that he might be buried with Lemaire, "who spoke so well," and, he himself, in emulation, declared on the scaffold, like a martyr, that it was "the truth" that had brought him to it. "Ivan the Terrible thought himself the deputy of the Most High." When asked by Lombroso whether he had ever killed anyone, a certain Number 377 retorted, "I am not a butcher"; but when he was

reminded of the fact that he had got away with plenty of pocket-books, he exclaimed, "Ah yes! but what a fine thing to do!" "Glad of it"—"I'd do it again"—cries the daily murderer in the newspaper to the bystanders or the police, and (unless this be bravado) if he change his mind it will be only after he has been wrought upon in prison by the fear of death. Far from evincing Shakespearean remorse, the murderer is inclined, according to the criminologists, to scorn his victim like a savage with the dripping scalp at his belt, and rightly Browning lets Ottima and Dostoevsky lets Raskolnikoff hate their victim after the crime more than before it. Such is the nature of those souls who, according to ancient and modern doctrine, "have the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another"; or who, according to a philosophy which takes no counsel of psychology and anthropology, are not blind, even the most consummate villain of them, to the transcendental significance of the moral law!<sup>1</sup>

Of Elizabethan Machiavels and villains the greatest is Iago, the culmination of the development through Aaron and Richard III.<sup>2</sup> He professes those tenets common to the Elizabethan Machiavel and Machiavelli himself; as egoism, the dissimulation of the virtues because of their usefulness, and the glorification of the "will," or *virtù*. Besides, he has all the ways of the Elizabethan Machiavel

<sup>1</sup> Whereas Shakespearean and Elizabethan villains big and little call themselves such, and Byron writes:

He knew himself a villain, and he deemed  
The rest no better than the thing he seemed;

James Runciman, provoked by the above couplet, wrote, not many years ago, an essay on *Scoundrels* to show that all whom he knew of considered themselves estimable men.

<sup>2</sup> I am aware that both Professor Bradley and Professor E. S. Meyer do not consider Iago to be a Machiavel: Mr. Bradley, on account of his not avowing atheism; Mr. Meyer, on account of his betraying no direct knowledge of the *Principe*. I cannot here undertake to dispute the point, but below I show reason for holding Iago to be atheistical in spirit, and I might insist not only on the tenets mentioned in the paragraph above but on a Machiavellian maxim of Iago's such as that, questioned by Mr. Meyer, in the last line of Act II. In all my writing on Elizabethan subjects, moreover (cf. my *John Webster*, pp. 98, 200-201) I have deliberately and uniformly used the word Machiavel in a sense larger than that which signifies merely an explicit connection with the name, personality, or precepts (genuine or garbled) of the great Italian, being concerned rather with the type of character which springs into being with Marlowe's Barabas and Guise, in whom the connection with Machiavelli, or Elizabethan notions of him, is explicit, and culminates in Iago, in whom such a connection is at least not obscured. That development and culmination is unmistakable: Iago is a Machiavel whether labeled as such or not.

on the stage: his frank delight in intrigue and avowal of evil—of dissimulation, lust, and murder—the league with hell, the manipulation of the tool-villain, Roderigo, for the rough and risky work, like Richard's Buckingham or Barabas' Ithamore, honest and merry manners with the world, and threats and blood-curdling malice in his speeches to the tool-villain and in his soliloquies and asides. The essential difference between him and the earlier representatives of the type lies in the subtlety of the outlines. The violence of Richard and Aaron is here dissembled: to look at him this Machiavel is no lion but all fox. There is none of Aaron's bluster, and yet there is none of Richard's slime. Iago fumbles no prayer-book, keeps no company with bishops, admits indeed that he is but a man among men, and, speaking of Roderigo, confesses that

with the little godliness I have  
I did full hard forbear him.

It is the franker manner of Richard, his bluffness and soldierly cynicism, that Iago more especially affects, modified and seasoned with bonhommie. There is almost as much human nature in him as stage villainy and a highly individual tone as well.

Iago is the great devil of the seventeenth century as Goethe's Mephistopheles is of the nineteenth. The latter, old legendary matter put aside, is after all not a fiend, not the antipode of morality or the enemy of the soul of man, but his indispensable companion through the world, and he reflects an age when the steep barriers between the "spiritual" and the "carnal," "good" and "evil," faith and unbelief, were breaking down, and the soul of goodness in things evil was being laid bare. *Votre philosophie dirigera votre art!*

Taine's words are not truer of art than of criticism. Mr. Bradley's transcendentalism detects in Iago signs of a "resistance" to his evil desires, in the spirit, no doubt, of Kant's dictum that there is no man so depraved as not to feel within him the "resistance" of the moral law, or categorical imperative. Mr. Sharp's psychology makes of Iago an instinctive criminal, or "moral imbecile." In such an undertaking, science, without the light of history, is as futile as philosophy. It is quite true that the Elizabethan Machiavel in general and Iago in particular embody elements of sound

criminal psychology: the gloating, the remorselessness, the pride and thoroughgoing egoism, the pleasure in intrigue, may be found in the instinctive criminals whose memory is embalmed in Ferri and Lombroso. But in the drama much of this is the highly colored product of the popular consciousness and myth-making power, something anti-human; in the page of science it is the work of nature itself. Iago's unerring moral judgment, to take up a single detail, whether concerning others, such as Othello, Cassio, and Desdemona, or himself, and his correct and conventional use of the terms "good," "noble," and "evil" Mr. Sharp considers evidence that Shakespeare was here attempting to portray a "clear-seeing instinctive criminal," somewhat like Lacenaire, I suppose. No doubt he succeeded, for it was the obvious thing to do and all tragedy back to Seneca had done it before him. But in life Lacenaires are uncommon; Lacenaire himself did not disdain euphemism and self-exoneration, as in his poems, and when, to quote Mr. Sharp himself, he said to his friend Avril, "We ought to go into business [*industrie*] together"; and I question if there be anyone who, for want of moral sensibility, would long "apply to his own conduct the adjectives by which the race express their loathings." Much less would the incorrigible criminal, whose *amour propre* is immense, apply them to himself with all the rigor of the Recording Angel. Planted at the very pole of our moral world, Iago is nevertheless delineated without regard to latitude, so to speak, as on Mercator's projection. The meridians of his thought run straight and undeflected—are identical with our own.

What is more, Iago, like Aaron and Richard, loves evil for its own sake, just as, for that matter, Shakespeare's heroes, when they happen to mention it, love virtue. Only a prig does right merely for the love of virtue; nobody, not even a prig, would do wrong for the love of sin. Naturally and normally we do what we do, not for the name of it, whatever that be, but for the thing itself, and in order that we may reach our ends and give our passions scope. It is in the spirit of an older psychology that Macaulay says, "It may well be conceived that at such a time such a nature as that of Marlborough would riot in the very luxury of baseness"; or that we ourselves so readily resort to that phrase of the vernacular "the pure love of cussedness" to describe the motive of some scurv



trick. It is in the spirit of a newer and sounder psychology that Stevenson says, speaking of fame as the apparent motive of heroic deeds: "The fact is, fame may be a forethought or an afterthought, but it is too *abstract* an idea to move people greatly in moments of swift and momentous decision." From these abstract and consciously moral and ulterior considerations, whereby each motive, foul or fair, passes naked before the inner judgment seat, the quite modern novel and drama have turned away, until in Hardy and the great Frenchmen and Russians we have today a psychology of the unsophisticated impulses, and characters do what they do, like Stevenson's English admirals, not for fame or infamy, or good or evil, but because the thing itself delights them. Here nothing is left of that old mythological notion, lingering on in Shakespeare and the popular psychology, which conceives of men as if, like angels and devils, all were mustered in one of two camps, the good or the wicked, and fought out their lives under its banner. And Iago is in love with evil too relentlessly, touched with no tenderness for man, child, bird, or beast, and with no odds and ends of sentiment or virtue clinging to him. His wickedness is as simple and total as that of an ogre. Whereas of the criminal character it is as true as of the normal, that it is not to be made, as Mr. Bernard Shaw says Mr. Barrie's characters are made, and normal characters in Shakespeare are not made, by mere "matching of materials." One repulsive quality does not mean all repulsive qualities, any more than one endearing quality means all endearing qualities. One of the widespread superstitions, says Tolstoi, is that every man has special, definite qualities of his own, or as Pope and others have put it, a ruling passion. That isn't like him, we say when we hear of a scheming person's doing something which seems disinterested; and commonly our wits, and even those of the great biographers, do not rest, so far do they prefer symmetry and consistency to the truth, until they have found a way to make it like him. To keep her in countenance, a cardinal virtue or a deadly sin still requires, to our mediaeval thinking, the company of all the others of the seven.

In the faith that Shakespeare is nature, Iago and Othello have been seized upon by criminologists such as Professor Kohler of Berlin and Lombroso himself as an example of the *coppia delinquente*.



But the pair nowise resemble the couples cited nor do they fit the definition: a pervert and a weakling corrupted by him, a bad man and one of mediocre intelligence and weak moral sense plunged by him into crime, an incorrigible criminal and an occasional criminal made his slave and tool. The latter forgets everything and everybody else, Lombroso continues, for his thought is polarized in the desires and caprices of one person, as are those of the hypnotized in the will of the hypnotist. But a weakling Othello is not, least of all a criminal, the "noble" Othello "whom our full senate calls all in all sufficient." Such, entirely, is the impression of his character up to the moment when he falls into Iago's toils. Nor is he the subject of any unconscious suggestion. They are not friends as Lombroso declares them to be, and there is no tie or influence on which Iago can count when he begins. The "suggestion" is no more than conscious cunning, and it gains admission into Othello's mind not mysteriously, but only through Iago's reputation for shrewdness and honesty. As always in Shakespeare, the game is in the open. Othello is not even inclined by nature to the passions which Iago arouses in him: "not easily jealous," he and Desdemona say at the beginning of the temptation, and he says it again at the end. He is like Macbeth, one driven to a crime for which he has a horror, and the cause of his fall lies almost wholly without him. It is the convention of the calumniator believed, as old as the story of Potiphar's wife, as old as fairy-tale or story. Convention—both in Shakespeare and in the drama of three centuries after him—we must never for a moment forget. Admiration has been expressed for Iago's cleverness in keeping the secret of his malice and depravity from Othello, his own wife, and for "four times seven years" from all the world, and contempt has been expressed for Emilia's stupidity; but by the same process of reasoning she has discernment and common-sense far beyond the capacity of her master in that she repudiates the slander and the slanderer on the spot. The truth—the convention—is: the slanderer must be believed that there may be a story; the slanderer must be repudiated that the story may end. In English plays before the time of Messrs. Jones and Pinero, short of the last scene of the last act anybody could be made to believe anything.

Still another vagary of the criminologists is that of finding in Shakespeare's treatment of the criminal traces of scientific determinism. The incorrigible criminal, it is commonly believed, is born so, is called indeed the *delinquente nato*; and even those criminologists who do not adhere to such opinions regard the criminal as irresponsible, or almost wholly so, being the product of disease and degeneration, heredity and environment. Above we have shown how little this point of view applies to Richard; how utterly foreign it is to Shakespearean and Elizabethan ways of thinking I have shown at length elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> The bad blood in a fellow's veins and the bad company he had had to keep were then no extenuating circumstances. Jewish blood, Moorish blood, bastardy, ugliness, and poverty are the heritage of Elizabethan and Shakespearean villains, and they are but badges of infamy and shame. For the villains, moreover, there is no access to that refuge provided for the erring hero, the decree of Fate or Fortune. Aaron, Richard, and Iago, unlike Romeo or Othello, acknowledge none such, and their sins are on their own heads. They detect their own motives, acknowledge them to be evil, and follow them—uncoerced, unhindered—none the less. All that hinders them is without them, and in their hands they "hold the twists of life." How differently move the creatures of Balzac, who, like Hulot, stagger and even cry out under the tyrannous weight of their passions, or of Zola or Dostoeffsky, who are seized by blind impulses like those of beasts of prey; or if it be objected that these are in the novel, those of Ibsen or Hervieu, who breathe the heavy air about them, creep through the tangle, and are caught in it they know not how or why. For this is another world than that revealed by earlier, explicit art, where the will is free and vision unclouded, and where, openly as on the plains of Troy, the game of life and death is played by man and man, God, Fate or Fortune, and the Devil. There all are free—all are at war.

Concerning the religion of his villains Shakespeare is comparatively silent. Prudence and practical sense as an actor-sharer may have been the reason, or simply his English inclination to let sleeping dogs lie. The world was full of villainous fanatics in his time, but he let them be, and his clergymen are such hardly more than in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my article on Shylock cited above, pp. 269-71.

name. Of his Machiavels, Aaron the "misbelieving Moor," evidently an atheist, is less loudly so than Eleazar in *Lust's Dominion*; Richard III scoffs at prayer and holy thoughts, but after his dream prays for the moment to God and Jesus; Iago has not a word to say on the subject, though he repeatedly identifies himself with the devils and their cause, appeals to the Divinity of hell, declares the will alone supreme, and in life and in the teeth of death keeps the haughty, contumacious tone of the enemy of God.<sup>1</sup> And the illegitimate Edmund, like Eleazar and the hero of Tournour's *Atheist's Tragedy*, appeals to nature as his goddess. With this bias are conceived Shakespeare's villains generally. If they approach God they do it like the King in *Hamlet*, in hypocrisy or remorse. For them is reserved the stigma of skepticism: it is Edmund and Iago who pooh-pooh Providence and the stars. Quite so Don Juan, according to Sganarelle, does not believe in God, not even in the *loup-garou*. This conception of the criminal as an atheist, that is God's enemy, or as a skeptic, lingers on popularly, of course, today, and in literature has died a hard death. Even Schiller made a skeptic of Franz Moor, and few writers have, like Stevenson in his portraits of cutthroat Calvinistic uncles, seen the expediency of making their criminals the contrary. That Browning's villains should be believers appeals to Mr. Chesterton because it is wholesome doctrine (which would have startled a bit the Elizabethans), but it appealed to Browning himself no doubt because it is psychological truth. Among two hundred assassins Ferri found not one avowed freethinker. Of five hundred criminals, according to Lombroso, 71 per cent attend church, as compared to 70 per cent of ordinary people. Among 28,531 admissions to three metropolitan prisons, observes Rev. J. W. Horsley, only fifty-seven described themselves as atheists, and some of these were Mohammedans and Chinese. Thieves have masses said for luck; *chaque voleur a sa devotion* runs the proverb. When Lavengro offers to buy a Bible for the old apple-woman of London Bridge, "No, dear, no," she replies, "you are poor, and

<sup>1</sup> The type of the Machiavel, enemy of God, is preserved, in nobler form, even at the end. Ordinarily Machiavels die cursing and blaspheming. Iago says, "From this time forth I never will speak word." "What," rejoins Lodovico, "not to pray?" and that is the point intended. Generally the bad men in Shakespeare who are not Machiavels, as Edmund, have at the end a change of heart.

may soon want the money; but if you can take one conveniently on the sly, you know—" Marc—, a young Neapolitan, who had killed his father, avowed to Lombroso that he had prayed to Our Lady of the Chain for the strength necessary for the undertaking. "Oh, if God would have pity on us," wrote to her accomplice, according to Mr. Havelock Ellis, a woman who was poisoning her husband, "how I would bless him! When he complains, I thank God in my heart." And the accomplice answers, "I will pray to heaven to aid us." "God has sent him," whispers Kipling's Pambé Serang as he hears the voice of his victim; "now I can die," he murmurs with a sigh of relief as he sinks to his pillow after having driven the knife home. Their attitude is not that of Lady Macbeth or Iago invoking the powers of darkness, but more nearly that of the simpler people with whom criminals are anthropologically akin, Christians and heathens early and modern, for example, who pray and vow to their God before the fight and praise and reward him afterward.

And what of the criminal's ways and manners? In Seneca, Shakespeare, and the Elizabethan drama, when a murder is in hand the sky darkens, lightning flashes, and heaven and earth are in a tumult. I need but mention the eclipses and tempests in *Macbeth* and *King Lear*, the tempest dropping fire and the celestial armies drizzling blood in *Julius Caesar*, or Duncan's horses which ate each other. And if these or the like are not forthcoming, Macbeth or King John, Tamburlaine or Othello is there to cry out for them.

Methinks it should be now a huge eclipse  
Of sun and moon, and that the affrighted globe  
Did yawn at alteration.

Here there is much poetry, and there is much in the various invocations of evil, and a little in the unmitigated villain's grotesque gloatings, curses, and threats, though oftener there is bombast and melodrama. Through it all prevails the notion that the moment of sin and the manner of the sinner are something prodigious and beyond the bounds of nature, as indeed they appear to be in the person of many a famous actor who saws the air in old paintings and prints. Even later poetry and fiction have been slower to

return to nature than you would think, and as in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries villains became less villainous, their manners became perhaps more sublime. So it is with Byron's and Bulwer's. Hugo makes Javert give a roar as he pounces on poor Valjean, and even Balzac has Vautrin, when taken by the police, undergo a sort of infernal transfiguration. How differently evil is done in Ibsen or Pinero! Before she knows it Iris entangles herself by making use of the check-book; and Mrs. Thaddeus Mortimore destroys her brother-in-law's will "as if it were the most natural thing in the world." How differently—and naturally—it is done in real life I need not undertake to tell.

"Shakespeare is nature," cry the critics still. Though he was widely different, I cannot see that as an artist he was greater, or was truer to nature, than Michelangelo. In all that pertains to the representation of the human form why not let Michelangelo be nature too? Certainly he knew the human body as well as Shakespeare knew the human soul. We marvel at the bold and subtle drawing of hands, limbs, and articulations. But not long ago a great artist pointed out the fact that in the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel some of the grand and imposing attitudes are physically impossible. The man is standing, but by the laws of nature he should fall. Such a thing a Whistler or a Sargent, without being so great a painter, is not to be caught doing today. In art he who in standing must take heed lest he fall, is now ridiculous: we assent and conform to fact. Our painters and poets, whose lesser genius is not identified with nature, have studied her, have discovered the fact, and with such result that to them or to us an attitude, word, or accent can no longer be altogether grand or beautiful unless it be in accord with this larger measure of truth. The sixteenth-century painter, who had discovered a lesser measure of truth, was free to treat the human form as a design or pattern and to flare out upon wall or canvas his sublimest impressions and imaginations, imbued with the religious and social prejudices and ideals of his time. The sixteenth-century playwright was free to weave a fantastic plot, pen speeches that are rather a song, a story, or a comment, and body forth impressions and imaginations as sublime and as deeply imbued. Both painter and playwright followed convention,

held up the mirror to man as they knew him, and painted—saints and satyrs, devils and demigods. Neither genius—no genius—is nature's self; either is the soul of the age teeming with audacious shapes and attitudes which nature never knew; and in the case of the playwright it is as true as in the case of the painter that such attitudes, particularly some of those struck by his criminal characters, are impossible, poetically imposing though they be.

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NOTE.—Since the above was in print, I have been delighted to find in Mr. Shaw's *Dramatic Opinions and Essays* the following passage which confirms me in my opinion as could the words of few others in the world. Often I find Mr. Shaw quoted by Shakespeareans not without signs of impatience, but who among them all has like him spoken the truth as he saw it and scorned cant and twaddle? "Shakespeare was a devout believer in the existence of the true villain—the man whose terrible secret is that his fundamental moral impulses are by some freak of nature inverted, so that not only are love, pity, and honor loathsome to him, and the affection which society imposes on him a constant source of disgust, but cruelty, destruction, and perfidy are his most luxurious passions. This is a totally different phenomenon from the survivals of the ape and tiger in a normal man. The average normal man is covetous, lazy, selfish; but he is not malevolent, nor capable of saying to himself, 'Evil: be thou my good.' He only does wrong as a means to an end, which he always represents to himself as a right end."—Vol. I, 294-95 (New York, 1907). Whether Mr. Shaw himself believes in the existence of the villain he does not make quite clear.





# LA BATAILLE DE TRENTE ANGLOIS ET DE TRENTE BRETONS. II

[BIGOT MS]

- f. 50v. Cy commence la bataille de .xxx. Englois et de .xxx. Bretons qui  
fu faite em Bretagne, l'an de grace mil trois cent cinquante, le  
sammedi devant letare Jherusalem.

## I

- S eigneurs, or faites paix, chevaliers et barons,  
Bannerois bachelers, et trestoux nobles hons,  
Evesques et abbés, gens de religions,  
Heraulx, menestreëlx, et tous bons compaignons,  
Gentilz hons et bourgeois de toutes nacions, 5  
Escoutez cest roumant que dire vous voulons.  
L'istoirë en est vraie et lez dix en sont bons;  
Comment trentë Englois, hardix comme lions,  
Combatirent un jour contrë trente Bretons.  
f. 51r. Et pour ce j'en vueil dire le vray et lez raisons, 10  
Sy s'esbatront souvent gentilz hons et clarjons  
De cy jusqu'à cent ans, pour vray, en leurs maisons.

## II

- B ons dix, quant ilz sunt bons et de bonne centence,  
Toux gens de bien, d'onneur, et de grant sapiënce,  
Pour ouïr et conter, y maitent leur entente; 15  
Mais faillis et jaloux sy n'y veulent entendre.  
Or en wueil commenchier et raison en wueil rendre  
De la noble bataille que on a dit dez trente;  
Sy pri à celluy Dieu, qui sa char laissa vendre,  
Qu'il ait mercy des armes, quer le plus sunt en cendre. 20

## III

- Q uant Dagorne fu mort, de cest siecle devië,—  
Devant Auray le fort fu finëe sa vie—  
Dez barons de Bretaingne et de leur compaignie,  
Dieu leur face mercy, par sa sainte pitié!  
En son vivant avoit pour certain ordonné 25  
Que [les] menues gens (de ville), ceulx qui gaingnent le blé,  
Ne seroient dez Englois plus prins ne guerroië.

8, trentë] xxx; 9, trentë] xxx; 15, conter] esconter.

[DIDOT MS]

## I

- f. 1r. **S**eignours, or escoutez, et trestous bons barons,  
 Baneretz chevaliers et trestous nobles homs,  
 Evesques et abbés, gents de religions,  
 Gentilz homes, bourgeois de toutes nacions,  
 Heraultz, haultx menestriers, et tous bons compaignons; 5  
 Escoutez cest romants que dire vous voulons.  
 L'istoiré en est vroye et les motz en sont bons;  
 Coment trenté Engloix, hardiz comme lyons,  
 Combatirent ung jour contre trente Bretons.  
 Et pour ce le vueil dire: droict le vieult, et raisons; 10  
 Si s'en esbateront gentilz homs et clergons  
 Dedans cent ans encore souvant en leurs maisons.

## II

- L'en dist quar il est vroy et de belle sentence,  
 Trestous les gents de bien, d'onneur et sapiënce,  
 Pour ouÿr et compter, mettent bien leur entente; 15  
 Mais faillis et gloutons sy n'y veulent entendre.  
**O**r vous vueil commencer et raison vous vueil rendre  
 De la noble bataille qui est nomm[e] de trente.  
 Sy pryé celui Dieu, qui sa char laissa vendre,  
 Qu'il ait pitié des ammes, car les corps sont en cendre. 20

## III

- f. 1v. **Q**uant Dagorne fut mort, de ce siècle devié,—  
 Devant Aulray le fort fust le baron tué—  
 Dieu luy face mercy, par sa saincte pitié!  
 En son vivant avoit pour certen ordonné  
 Que les menues gents, ceulx qui gaignent le blé, 25  
 Ne fussent des Angloix plus prins ne guerroyé.

17, rendre] tendre; 20, ammes] âmes.

## [BIGOT MS]

Quant le baron fu mort, tantost fu oublié,  
 Quer Bomeboure pour certain est pour luy demouré,  
 Qui jure Saint Thomas que bien sera vengié; 30  
 Puis a la terre prinse et le pais gasté,  
 Et embla Ploërmel à doeul et à vilté.  
 Bien faisoit de Bretaingne toute sa voulanté,  
 Tant qu'avint la journée que Dieu oust ordonné,  
 Que Beaumaner le bon, qui tant fu alosé, 35  
 Messire Jehan le sage, le preux et le sené,  
 Vers lez Englois alia pour parler à seurté.  
 Sy vit pener chetifz dont il oust grant pitié;  
 Ly un estoit en chesp et ly aultre ferré,  
 Ly aultre ès gresillons et ly ault(e)re en celé, 40  
 Deux et deux, trois et trois, chacun sy fu lié.  
 Comme(nt) vaches et bouefz que l'en maine au marchié.

- f. 51r. Quant Beaumanoir lez vit, du coeur a soupiré,  
 Sy a dit à Bomeboure par moult tres grant fierté:  
 "Chevaliers d'Engleterre, vous faictes grant pechié 45  
 De travailler lez povres, ceulz qui sient le blé,  
 Et la char et le vin de quoy avon planté.  
 Se laboureux n'estoient, je vous dy mon pensé,  
 Lez noblez convendroit travailler en l'eré  
 Au flaiel (et) à (la) houette, et souffrir povreté; 50  
 Et ce seroit grant paine quant n'est acoustumé.  
 Paix aient d'or en avant, quer trop l'ont enduré,  
 Le testament Dagorne est bien tost oublié."  
**E**t Bomeboure sy respont par moult tres grant fierté:  
 —"Beaumaner, taisiés-vous, de ce n'y soit (plus) parlé. 55  
 Monfort sy sera duc de la noble duchié  
 De Pontorsum à Nantez, jusquez à Saint Mahé;  
 Edouart sera roy de France couronné;  
 Englois auront mestrie, partout auront posté,  
 Maulgré tous lez Franchois et ceulx de leur costé." 60  
 Et Beaumaner respont par grant humilité:

—"Songiés un aultre songe, cetuy est mal songié,  
 Quer jamais par tel voie n'en auriez demy pié."

31, gasté] gaisté; 32, Ploërmel] Pelmel; 37, alla] allerent; 39, en] un; 40, ès gresillons] egresillons; 42, vaches et bouefz] bouefz et vaches; 55, n'y soit] n'aist.

[DIDOT MS]

Quant le baron fust mort, tout ce fust oublyé,  
 Car Brambroc pour certain pour luy est demouré,  
 Qui jura Sainet Thomas que il sera vengé,  
 Et ot toute la terre et le pais gasté. 30  
 Lors ambla Ploeärmel à dueil et à vilté;  
 Bien faisoit de Bretaigne toute sa volenté,  
 Jusques vint la journee que Dieux ot ordonné,  
 Que Beaumanoir le bon, qui tant fust alosé,  
 Messire Jehan le saige, le preux et le sené, 35  
 Aloit veoir les Angloix et parler à seurté.  
 Si vit paouvres chetiffz dont il eust grant pitié;  
 Les ungs estoit ès septs et les aultres ferré,

Deux et deux, trois et trois, ainsin estoit lyés,  
 Comme vachez et beuffz que l'en maine au marché, 40  
 Chascun souffroit grant peine, douleur orphanité.  
 Quant Beaumanoir les vit, du cueur a souspiré;  
 A Brambroc sy a dist par grant humilité:  
 "Chevalier d'Angleterre, vous faictes grant pechié  
 De travailler le peuple qui laboure le blé; 45  
 Et la char et le blé de ceulx avons planté.  
 Si laboureurs ne fussent, ie vous dy mon pansé,  
 Les nobles couvendroit travailler en l'aré  
 Au flayeul, à houette, et souffrir pouvreté;  
 Ellas! ce seroit peine à qui n'a coustumé. 50  
 Paix ayent d'or en avant, assés ont enduré,  
 Le testament Dagorne n'est myë achivé;  
 Executour en estes, qu'il soit executé."

Et Brambroc luy a dist par moult tres grant fierté:  
 f. 2r. —"Beaumanoir, taisiez-vous, de ce n'y soit parlé; 55  
 Montfort sy sera duc de la noble duchié  
 De Pontorson à Nantes, jusques à Saint Mahé;  
 Edouärt sera roy de France couronné;  
 Angloix auront le haut partout et poësté,  
 Maulgré tous les François et ceulx de leur costé." 60  
 Et Beaumanoir respont, le preux et le sené,  
 A Brambroc et a dist par moult tres grant fierté:  
 —"Songés ung aultre songe, car cestuy est songé,  
 Car jamais par tel voye n'y aurés demy pié."

49, à houette] la houette.

[BIGOT MS]

## IV

"Bomebourg," dit Beaumaner, "sachiez certainement  
Que toutes vos gouberges sy ne valent noient: 65  
Ceulx qui le plus en dient, en la fin leur mesprent.  
Or le faisons, Bomebourg, s'il vous plaist, sagement;  
Combatoen nous ensembles à un ajournement,  
Soixante compaignons, ou quatre vingt, ou cent;  
Adonc verra on bien, pour vray certainement, 70  
Qui aura tort ou droit sans aller plus avant."  
—"Sire," ce dit Bomebourg, "et je le vous fianç."

69, quatre vingt). liij. xx.

[DIDOT MS]

## IV

"Brambroc," dist Beaumanoir, "saichez certainement 65  
 Que trestous voz goberges n'y valent ung nyënt;  
 Celuy qui plus en parle, maintes foiz se mesprenent.  
 Or le faesmes, beau sire, si vous plaist, saigement;  
 Combatons nous ensemble à ung adiournement,—  
 Sexante compaignons, ou quatre vingt, ou cent— 70  
 Et lors verra l'on cler adoncques et vrayment,  
 Qui aura tort ou droit, sans aller plus avant."

## V

"Brambroc," dist Beaumanoir, "pour Dieu le droitturier,  
 Vous estes vaillant homme et moult soutiff guerrier;  
 Venés à la journée sans exoine mander. 75  
 L'an dist mainte parole qu'onouldroit rappeller  
 Et dist on grants goberges souvant dessus disner;  
 Si ne me faictes mie, comme à Pierres Angier,  
 Le vaillant homme noble, le gentil bachelier.  
 O vous il print journee, ce fust pour batailler; 80  
 A Ambissat la ville, comme ie ouÿ compter,  
 Et là vint au dit lieu, pour sa foy acquiter,  
 A six vingts esperons, tous faitz d'or et d'acier.  
 Brambroc, vous deffaillistes, n'y osastes aler;  
 Cest faict cy est moult grant, vous n'en devés mocquer, 85  
 De cy à ung grant temps l'on enouldra parler."

f. 2v. — "Beaumanoir," dist Brambroc, "pour Dieu laissés ester,  
 Car je seroy ou champ pour certain le premier;  
 Avec moy trentē hommes, sans croistre ne besser,  
 Qui seront tous couvers de bon fer et d'acier. 90  
 Ja n'y menroy villain, Dieu me vueillē ayder,  
 Car le maindre de tous sy sera escuyer,  
 Portant tuncies d'armes, luy ou son davancier."  
 Mais Brambroc sy mentist, à celer ne vous quier,  
 Il meina ung villein avoueltre pautonnier 95  
 Qui portoit bien de febves, sur son coul ung sextier;  
 Le ventre ot plus gros que celuy d'ung coursier.  
 Brambroc, par grant fierté, ce jour le fist armer;  
 Par luy cuida la mort de Dagorne venger;  
 Il devoit tout abatre, le villein losengier. 100

**D**e Beaumanoir le noble je vous en vueil compter;  
 A Brambroc sy a dist: "Je vueil de cy aler

[BIGOT MS]

## V

**A**insi fu la bataille jurée par tel point  
 Que, sans barast ne fraude, loiaulment le fero[i]nt  
 Et, d'un costé et d'autre, toux à cheval sero[i]nt. 75

f. 52r. Sy pri au roy de gloire, qui tout sait et tout voi[n]t,  
 Qu'il en aist au droit, quer ce en est le point.

## VI

**O**r ont ils à Pelmel la bataille jurée,  
 A trente compaignons, chacun de sa menée.  
 Puis s'en vint Beaumaner, à la chiere membrée, 80  
 Au chasteau Josselin, la nouvelle a comptée,  
 Le fait et l'ent[r]eprinse, mestier n'y a celée,  
 De luy et de Bomeboure comment ell[e] est alée.  
 Là trouva des barons moult tres grant assemblée;  
 Chacun la mercy Dieu en out moult merchiée. 85

## VII

—“**S**eigneurs,” dit Beaumaner, “sachiez sans demourance  
 Qu'entre Bomeboure et moy avon fait acordance,

A trente compaignons, chacun de grant puissance.  
 Sy feroit bon choisir qui bien ferroit de lance,  
 Et de hache et d'espée et de dague pesante. 90  
 Sy pry le roy de gloire, le Dieu de sapiënce,  
 Qu[e] aions l'avantage, ne seron en doubtance.  
 Asés em parlera on en roiaulme de France  
 Et par toutes lez terres de cy jusqu' à Plaisance.”

## VIII

[A] Beaumaner ont dit (lez) nobilles bacheliers; 95  
 Et la chevalerie, servans et escuiers,  
 Diënt à Biaumaner, “Nous (y) yron volentiers  
 Pour destruire Bomeboure et toux sez soudoiers.

76, sa[i]t] soit; 78, ont] ont; 82, mestier n'y a celée] maistrey n'y a celée; 85, out] on  
 86, demourance] doubtance; 88, trente] xxx; 95, bacheliers] barons.



## [DIDOT MS]

A chasteau Jocelin pour mes gents ordrenner."  
 —"Alés," se dist Brambroc, "auxi je vueil mander;  
 Par toute la duchié je feré assambler  
 Touts les nobles Angloix que je pourroy trouver."

105

## VI

A insin fust la bataille jurée par tel point,  
 Et que, sans nulle fraude, loyaulment le feroient,  
 Et d'ung costé et d'autre, touts à cheval seroyent,  
 Ou trois, ou cinq, ou six, ou touts se ilz vouloint;  
 Sans election d'armes, ainxin se combatroint,  
 En guisë et maniere que chascun le vouldroint.  
 Sy pry au roy de gloire, qui voit et bas et mont,  
 Qu[e]il aidé au droit, car icy est le point.

110

## VII

O r ont à Plocârmel la bataille jurée  
 D'eulx combatrê ensemble, à certeine journée,  
 A trente compaignons, chascun de sa livrée,  
 Puis s'en vint Beaumanoir, à la<sup>re</sup> chere membrée,  
 A chasteau Jocelin, la nouvelle a comptée,  
 Et le faiet(e) et la chose comme[nt] elle est alée;  
 De luy et de Brambroc n'y a chose celée.  
 Là trouva des barons moult grande l'assamblée;  
 Chascun la Nostre Dame en eust moult graciée.

115

f. 3r.

120

## VIII

—"Seigneurs," dist Beaumanoir, "sachez sans demourance  
 Qu'entre Brambroch et moy en avons accordance  
 De nous combattre ensemble, sans nulle deffaillance,  
 A trente compaignons, chascun de grant puissance.  
 Si auroit bon mestier choisir qui fiert de lance  
 Et de bon branc d'acier, car la chose est grande;  
 Et si Jhesucrist donne par sa sainte puissance  
 Que l'avantaige ayons, ne soyez en doubtaunce,  
 Moult en sera parlé par le royaume de France  
 Et par tout le pays qui tient son aliance."

125

130

## IX

O r vont à Beaumanoir les nobles bacheliers  
 Et la chevalerie, servants et escuyers,  
 Et dyënt, "Noble sire, nous irons volentiers  
 Pour destruire Brambroch, luy et ses souldoyers;

135

110, ou cinq, ou six] ou. v. ou. vj.

## [BIGOT MS]

Il n'aura ja de nous ne ranchon ne deniers,  
Car nous sommes hardix et vaillans et entiers; 100  
Nous ferron sur Engloiz de moult grans coux planiers.

## IX

**P**renés qu'il vous plaira, tres nobile baron."

—"Je pren[dray] Tintinlac, à Dieu soit beneichon,  
Et Guy de Rochefort et Charruël le bon,  
Guillaume de La Marche sera mon compaignon, 105  
Et Robin Raguenel, en non de Saint Y[v]on,  
Caron de Bosdegas, qu (e)' oubliër ne doit on,  
Messire Giuffrai de Bouès, qui est de grant renon,  
f. 52v. Et Olivier Arel, qui est hardy Breton,  
Messire Jehan Rousselot, qui a coeur de lion; 110  
Se ceulx ne se deffendent de Bomeboure le felon,  
Jamais je n'auray joye par mon entencion."

## X

**A**pres convient choisir moult trez noble escuier;  
De Montauban Guillaume prendray tout le premier,  
(Et) de Tintinlac Alain, qui tant est [bon et] fier, 115  
Pinctinien Tritran, qui tant fait à proisier,  
Alain de Carramois et son oncle Olivier,  
Loïs Guion vendra ferir d'un branc d'achier,  
Luy et le Fonstenois, pour leurs corps essoier.  
Hauguet Capus le sage ne doit on oubliër, 120  
Et Giuffrai de la Roche sera fait cevalier,

De Brice, son bon pere, qui ala guerroier  
Jusques (en) Costentinnoble, pour grant honneur gaingner:  
Se ceulx ne se deffendent de Boureboure le merchier,  
Qui chaillenge Bretaingne, —Dieu luy dont encombrier! 125  
Jamais ils ne devroient chandre de branc d'achier.

## XI

**C**hoisy a Beaumanoir, ainsy com vous ay dit,  
Giuffray Poulart, Morisce, —[cil] de Tris[é]guidy—  
Et Guion de Pontblanc ne mestroy en oubly,  
Et Morisce Du Parc, un escuier hardy, 130

107, Bosdegas] Bosc de gas; 111, ceulx] à eulx; 114, Montauban] Mont Auban;  
118, Loïs Guion vendra] Lors Guion y vendra; 121, de La Roche] de Roche; 129, Pont-  
blanc] Porcblant; 130, Du Parc] Du Part.

[DIDOT MS]

De nous n'aura il mye ne ransczons ne deniers,  
 Car nous sommes hardis et courants et legiers;  
 Et ferrons sur Angloix de moult grans coups et fiers. 140

## X

Prenez qui vous plaira, tres droit noble baron."  
 —"Seigneurs," dist Beaumanoir, "si les enchoisiason."  
 Et prindrent Tyntyniac, à Dieu le beneiason,  
 Et Guy de Rocheffort et Charruël le bon, 145  
 Et Robin Raganel, ou nom de Saintt Symon,  
 Caro de Bodegat, qui moult est bel et bon,  
 Guillaume de la Lande sera son compaignon,  
 Et Olivier Arrel, qui est hardy Breton,  
 Sire Jehan Rousselet, qui a cueur de leon,  
 Messire Geffray Du Boys, le gentil compaignon: 150  
 Si ceulx ne se deffendent de Brambroch le fellow,  
 Jamais je n'auroy joie en mon entencion.

## XI

f. 3v. **A**mpres couvint choisir maint gentil escuyer;  
 De Montauban Guillaume prindrent tout le primier, 155  
 De Tyntyniac Alain, qui tant a le cueur fier,  
 De Pestivien Tristan, qui tant est bon guerrier,  
 Alain de Keranraes et son oncle Olivier;  
 Louÿs Gouyon vendra ferir du branc d'acier,  
 Luy et le Fontenais, pour leurs corps aloser, 160  
 Huët Captus le noble ne devons oublier,  
 Et Geffroy de la Roche sera fait chevalier;  
 Si Dieu plaist, la journée luy debvra remembrer  
 De la bonté son pere, qui ala guerroyer  
 Jusques Constantinnoble, pour son corps aloser.  
 Ceulx cy se deffendront de Brambroch le baffier, 165  
 Qui chalonge la terre,—Dieu luy doit encombrer!

## XII

**C**hoisy a Beaumanoir, ainsi comme vous dy,  
 Geffroy Poulart, Morice,—cil de Trézéguidy—  
 Et Guyon de Pontblanc, qui est moult bon amy,  
 Et Morice Du Parc, ung escuyer hardy, 170

159, le] les.

## [BIGOT MS]

Et Guiffroy de Beaucorps, qui est moult son amy,  
 Et celuy de Lenlop, Giuffroy Mellon aussey.  
 Tous ceulx que il appelle luy en rendent mercy;  
 Ils sunt touz à present, ils s'enclinent vers luy.

## XII

**A**pres print Beaumanoir, c'est chose sans doubtaunce, 135  
 Jehanot Desserain, Guillaume de la Lande,  
 Olivier Montevile, homme de grant puissance,  
 Et Symonnet Pachart, pas n'i fera faillance.  
 Toux y metront leurs coeurs et leurs corps em balance

Et tant sunt assemblés sans nulle demourance. 140  
 Dieu lez wueille garder de male pestilence!

## XIII

f. 53r. **O**r choisy Beaumanoir tout son nombre  
 De trente bons Bretons,—or lez gart Dieu de honte  
 Et à leurs anemis envoit Dieu tele encontre,  
 Qu'ilz soient desconfis, voiant de tout le monde! 145

## XIV

**M**essire Robert Bomeboure a choisy d'aulture part  
 A trente compaignons dont il avoit grant tart;  
 Je vous dyray leurs nons, par le corps Saint Be[r]nart.  
 Ly un sy fu Canolez, Carvalay et Crucart, 150  
 Messire Jehan Plansanton, Ridele le gaillart,  
 Helecoq son frere, et Jennequin Taillart,  
 Rippefort le vaillant, et d'Ilande Richart,  
 Tommelin Belifort, qui moult sust du renart,—  
 Cil combatoit d'un mail qui pesoit bien le quart  
 De cent livres d'achier, se Dieu ait en moy part. 155  
 Huceton Clemenbean combatoit d'un fauchart  
 Qui tailloit d'un costé, crochu fu d'aulture part,  
 Devant fu amuré trop plus que n'est un dart.  
 Il poursembloit lez armes jadix roy Agappart  
 Quant combaty de lance encontre Renouart; 160  
 Cil qu'il ataint à coup, l'ame du corps lui part.  
 Jennequin Betoncamp, Renequin Herouart,  
 Et Gaule l'Al[e]mant, Huebnie le vilart,

[DIDOT MS]

Et Geffroy de Beaucours, n'en soyez esbahy,  
Celuy de la Villong, Geffroy Moelon auxi.  
Tous ceulx qu'il en appelle luy en rendent mercy  
Et vont tous à genoulx, escuyers devant luy.

## XIII

**A**mpres print Beaumanoir, c'est chose sans doubance, 175  
Jahannot de Serrant, homme de grant puissance,  
Olivier Bouteville, Guillaume de La Lande,  
Et Symonet Richard, ceulx n'y feront faillance.  
Ceulx y mettront leurs cueurs et leurs corps en balance  
Pour garder leurs pais de malé aliënce. 180  
Atant se sont partis sans point de demourance,—  
Dieu les vueille garder de male pestilance!

## XIV

**O**r si a Beaumanoir choisy trestout son nombre  
De trente compaignons,—Dieu les garde de honte  
Et à leurs ennemis envoye male encontre, 185  
Que ilz soient desconfilz, voyant trestout le monde!

## XV

f. 4r. **M**essire Robert Brambroch a choisy d'aulture part  
De trente compaignons dont il avoit grant tart;  
Je ne sçay pas leurs noms, mais le cueur si m'en art,  
Mais o luy fust Crollés, Tavarllay et Conchart, 190  
Messire Jehan Plesanton, Redoure le gaillart,  
Huëlcoq et son frere, Renequin Relcart  
Ripeffart le vaillant, et ung aulture Richard,  
Thomelin Belliffart, qui fust fier de regard,—  
Cil combatoit d'ung mail qui pesoit bien le marc 195  
De cent livres d'acier, sy Dieu m'ait en sa part.  
Huëlcoq Clomeân combatoit d'ung fussart  
Qui tailloit d'ung costé, crochu fust d'aulture part;

Ce jour sambloit les armes jadis roy Edouärt.

Jehannot Begurcamp, Renequin Helcart, 200  
Et Gaultier l'Alemant, Hulbure le veillart,

172, Moelon] Moelou; 185, encontre] honte.

## [BIGOT MS]

Renequin Mareschal, cy mouru celle part,  
 Thommelin Houalton, Robinet Melipart, 165  
 Isanay le hardy, Helichon le musart,  
 Troussel, Robin Adés et Dango le couart,  
 Et le nepveu Dagorne, fier fu com un liespart,  
 Et quatre Brebenchons, par le corps Saint Godart,  
 Perrot de Commelain, Guillemin le gaillard, 170  
 (Et) Raoulet d'Aspremont, d'Ardaine fu le quart.

Bretons desconfiront, ce diënt, par leur art,  
 Et conquerront Bretaingne jusqu'aupres de Dinart;  
 Mais de fole vantance est maint tenu musart.

## XV

f. 53r. **O**r a Robert Bomebourc choysy ses compaignons. 175  
 Trente furent par nombre et de trois nations;  
 Car vingt Englois y oust, hardis comme lions,  
 Et six bons Alemans et quatre Brebenchons.  
 Armez furent de plates, bacines, hauberjons:  
 Espées ourent, et dagues et lancez et fauchons; 180  
 Et Englois jurent Dieu, qui souffri passions,  
 Beaumanoir sera mort, le gentilz et li bons.  
 Mais ly preux et ly sages fist ses devociions  
 Et faisoit dire messes par grant oblaciions  
 Que Dieu leur soit en aide par sez saintismes nons. 185

## XVI

**Q**uant le temps fu passé et le jour fu venu  
 Que rendre se devoient dessus le pré herbu,  
 Beaumanoir le vaillant, que Dieu croisse en vertu,  
 Sez compaignons apele; qu'ilz vindrent toux à luy,  
 Et leur fist dire messez, chacun fu absolu, 190  
 Prinrent leur sacrement en non du roy Jhesu.

## XVII

"Seigneurs," dit Beaumanoir o le hardy visage,  
 "Ja trouverois Englois, qui sunt de grant courage.  
 Ils sunt en volenté de nous faire doumage:  
 Sy vous pry et requier, chascun de bon courage, 195

177, vingt] xx.; 178, six] vj; 182, bons] hons.

[DIDOT MS]

Jennequin Mareschal, qui morust celle part,  
 Thomelin Houlnanton, Robinet Melipart,  
 Issinay, Bicquillay, et Harclou le musart, 205  
 Trousel, Robin Nadrés, Huelton le contart,  
 Et le nepvou Dagorne, fier comme ung liepart.  
 Quatre Bretons y furent, par le corps Saint Lenart,  
 Perrot de Comellan et Hamon le gaillart,  
 Raoulet du Primant, Dagorne Renouart, 210  
 Trente furent nommez des gents roy Edouart;  
 Bretons desconfront s'ilz treuvent en leur art,  
 Et conqueirront Bretagne jusquez chasteau Dynart;  
 Mais de folle cuydance est moult tenu musart.

## XVI

**O**r a Robert Brambroch choisy ses compaignons.  
 Trente furent par nombre et de trois nacions; 215  
 Car vingt Anglois y eust, hardis comme lyons,  
 Avecq six Al[e]mans avoit quatre Bretons.  
 Armés furent de plates, bacynes, haubergons,  
 Et espées et lances et de maintes faescuns.  
 f. 4v. Tous jur(er)ent Jhesucrist, qui souffrist passions, 220  
 Beaumanoir sera prins, le gentil et le bons.  
 Mais le preux et le sage fit ses devisions;  
 Il fist dire des messes par grant devociuns,  
 Que Dieu luy soit [en] aide, par ses santismes noms.

## XVII

**Q**uant le temps fust passé et le iour fust venu 225  
 Que rendre se debvoient dedans le pré herbu,  
 Beaumanoir le vaillant, à qui Dieu doit salu,  
 Ses compaignons appelle et vindrent tous à lu.  
 Il leur fist dire messes, chascun fust absolu,  
 Et prindrent sacrement ou nom du doulx Jhesu. 230

## XVIII

"Seigneurs," dist Beaumanoir o le hardy visaige;  
 "Ja trouverons Anglois qui sont de grant oultrage,  
 Et en grant volenté de nous faire domaige;  
 Si vous pry et requiers, ait chascun bon couraige,

218, plates] places.



## [BIGOT MS]

Tenés-vous l'un à l'autre, com gent vaillant et sage;  
 Se Jhesucrist vous donne la force et l'avantage,  
 Moult en ara grant joye de France le bernage  
 Et le duc debonnaire, à qui j'ay fait houmage,  
 Et la france duchesse, à qui suis de lignage: 200  
 Jamais ne nous haerront à jour de leur aage."  
 Et chascun jure Dieu, qui hons fist en s'image:  
 "Se nous trouvons Bomeboure au plain, hors du boscage,  
 Jamais ne le verra homme de son lignage."

## XVIII

Or diroy de Bomeboure qui tant a exploitié 205  
 De trente compaignons dont il est alié.  
 Ensemble lez amaine belement, droit au pré,  
 f. 54r. Et leur a dist à toux, c'est fine verité:  
 "J'ay fait lire mez livre, Merlin a destiné  
 Que nous aron victoire sur Bretons au jour d'é, 210  
 Et puis sera Bretagne [et] France, de ver(i)té  
 Au bon roy Edouart, car je l'ay ordonné."

## XIX

"Seigneurs," ce dit Bomeboure, "soiez baulx et jolis;  
 Soiez seurs et certains que Beaumanoir est prins,  
 Lui et sez compaignons, pié n'y en demourra vis, 215  
 Et puis lez amerron à Edouart le gentilz,  
 Le franc roy d'Engleterre, qui cy nous a tramis.  
 Sy fera de leurs corps trestout à son devis;  
 Nous lui rendron lez terres prinsees jusqu'à Paris,  
 Puis ne nous atendront lez Bretons vis à vis." 220  
 Ainsy le dit Bomeboure, c'estoit tout son avis;  
 Mais se il plaist à Dieu, le roy de paradix,  
 Pas ne vendra si tost à chief de ses devis.

## XX

Or a tant fait Bomeboure, qu'il est premier venu  
 A trente compaignons dedens le pré herbu; 225  
 A haulte vois s'escrie, "Beaumanoir, où es-tu ?  
 Je croy bien à m'entente que tu es defalu,  
 Des c'on f[e]jist (em) bataille, à riens ne t'a[s] tenu."  
 A yceste parole Beaumanoir est venu.

202, fist]f fist; 204, le verra] le le verra; 209, Merlin] Meslin; 225, trente] xxx.

[DIDOT MS]

Tenés vous l'un à l'autre, comme vaillans et saige; 235  
 Et si Jhesucrist done que ayons l'avantaige,  
 Moult en aura grant joye de France le barnaige  
 Et le duc debonaire, à qui je fis hommaige,  
 Et la franche duchesse, à qui suys de lignaige:  
 Jamais ne nous hayeront, à jour de leur viage." 240  
 Chascun en jure Dieu, qui les fist à s'(on) ymaige,  
 Que s'ilz trouvent Brambroch en plain, hors de bocaige,  
 Que jamais ne verra homme de son lignaige.

## XIX

Or dirons de Brambroch qui tant a expleté  
 De trente compaignons dont il est alié, 245  
 Ensemble les ameine, bellement par le pré,  
 Et leur a dist à tous, c'est pure verité:  
 "J'ay fait lire mes livres, Merlin a destiné  
 Que nous aurons victoire sur Bretons au jour d'é;  
 Et puis sera Bretaingne et France abandonné 250  
 Au bon roy Edouart, car je l'ay ordenné."

## XX

f. 5r. "Seigneurs," ce dist Brambroch, "soiés b(e)aux et jolis,  
 Et tous seurs et certains que Beaumanoir est prins;  
 Luy et ses compaignons n'auront ung pié d'avis,  
 Tous les envoyeré à Edouart [le] gentilz, 255  
 Le franc roy d'Angleterre, qui cy nous a transmis.  
 Il fera de leurs corps trestout à ses devis;  
 Nous luy rendrons les terres prinses jusques Paris;  
 Plus ne nous actendront les Bretons vis à vis."  
 Ainsin estoit par foy trestout son grant advis; 260  
 Mais, sy Dieu plaist, le pere et roy de paradis,  
 Il n'yra pas sy tost à chieff de ses devis.

## XXI

Or a tant fait Brambroc, que premier est venu  
 A trente compaignons dedans le pré herbu;  
 A haulte voix il crie, "Beaumanoir, où es tu ? 265  
 Je crois en mon entent[e] que tu es deffaillu."

A yceste parolle est Beaumanoir venu.

## [BIGOT MS]

## XXI

"Beumanoir," dit Bomeboure, "se nous voulons, amis, 230  
 (Re)muons ceste journée et soit ariere mis;  
 Et j'envoieray nouvelles à Edouart le gentilz  
 Et vous yrés parler au roy de Saint Denis;  
 Et se le fait leur plaist, ainsy com il est prins,  
 Nous nous rendron ycy, un jour que sera mis." 235  
 "Sire," dit Beaumanoir, "de ce auray avis."

## XXII

Beumanoir le vaillant, à la chiere membrée,  
 A(s) ses gens em present la nouvelle a comptée.  
 "Seigneurs, Bomeboure voudroit la chose remuée,  
 Que chascun s'en alast sans y ferir collée; 240  
 Sy veuil bien qu'entre vous m'en diés vo pensée;  
 f. 54v. Car par ycelluy Dieu, qui fit ciel et rousée,  
 Dendroit moy n'en prendroye tout l'or d'une contrée  
 Que yceste bataille ne fust faicte ne oultrée."  
 Lors parla Charuël, la couleur a muée, 245  
 N'y oust meilleur de luy de chi la mer salée:  
 "Sire, nous sommes trente venus en ceste prée,  
 N'y a celluy qui n'ait dague, lance et espée,  
 Tous praes[t] de nous combatre, en non Saincte Homourée,  
 A Bomeboure, puisqu'il a la terre chalengée 250  
 Au franc duc debonnaire. Cil ait male durée  
 Qui jamais s'en ira sans y ferir colée,  
 Ne qui la (re)muëra pour prendre aultre journée."  
 Puis respont Beaumaner, "Ceste chose m'agrée;  
 Alons à la bataille comment ell[e] est jurée." 255

## XXIII

"Bomeboure," dit Beaumanoir, "vous orrois mon courage;  
 Voyez là Charuël o le hardy visage,  
 Et toux lez compaignons, que te seroit hontage  
 De (re)muer la bataille qu'as offerte à [l]'oultrage  
 [Qu]'avoiz fait au franc duc, qui est courtoiz et sage; 260  
 Si jure(nt) chacun Dieu, qui hons fist en s'image,  
 Que vous morrois à honte, voyant tout le bernage;

Et vous et tous vos gens, et tout par vostre oultrage."

247, trente] xxx.

[DIDOT MS]

## XXII

"Beumanoir," dist Brambroc, "je vous pry, beaux amys,  
Remuons cestuy terme et soit en avant mis  
Et je enverrai à Edouart le gentilz 270  
Et vous yrés parler au roy de Saint Denis;  
Et si le fait leur plaist, ainsin que il est prins,  
Si nous rend[r]on icy, le jour que sera mis."  
"Brambroc," dist Beaumanoir, "j'e auroy bien advis."

## XXIII

**B**eaumanoir le vaillant, o la chièrre liée, 275  
A ses gents en present la nouvelle a contée.  
"Seigneurs, Brambroc vouldroit la chose remuée  
Et que chascun iroit sans y ferir colée;  
Si vueil bien qu'entre vous digés vostre pensée,—  
Car par icelluy Dieu qui fist ciel et rousée, 280  
Dendroit moy ne prandroie tout l'or d'une contrée  
Que surement bataille ne soit faicte et oultrée."  
Lors parla Charruël a la chièrre membrée,

"Sire, nous sommes trente venus en ceste prée;  
N'a celuy qui n'a lance et haché et espée, 285  
f. 5v. Tous prestz de nous combatre, ou nom Saincte Anorée,  
O Brambroc, puisqu'il a la terre chalengée  
Par sa desesperance. Qu'il ait male durée

Qui mais remuëra pour prendre aultre journée!"  
Puis respont Beaumanoir, "Ceste chose m'agrée." 290  
Et a dist à Brambroc, "Ne soit chose celée:  
Mais alon en bataille commē elle est jurée."

## XXIV

"**B**rambroc," dist Beaumanoir, "vous oiiés mon doubtaige;  
Voyez que dist Charruel o le hardy visaige,  
Et tous mes compaignons, que ce seroit hontaige 295  
De remuër bataille sur fait de grant oultrage  
Qu'avés fait au franc duc, qui est proudoms et saige.  
Si jure chascun Dieu, qui les fist à s'(on) ymaige,  
Que vous mourrés à honte, voyant tout le barnaige;  
Et vous et tous voz gientz, commē Engloix de rage, 300  
Serés prins et liëz et n'est pas grant oultrage."

272, que il] qu'il; 276, la nouvelle a contée] a la nouvelle contée; 296, de remuër] et remuër.

[BIGOT MS]

## XXIV

"Beumanoir," dit Bomeboure, "vous faictes grant folie  
 Que vous metés à mort par vostre estoutie 265  
 La fleur de la duchié, par sy tres grant folie.  
 Car, quant ilz seront mors et trespasés de vie,  
 Jamais en la duchié ne lez trouverois mie."

"Bomeboure," dit Beaumanoir, "pour Dieu ne pensés mie 270  
 Que j'ay cy amené (la) noble chevalerie;  
 Laval [ne] Rochefort, Eleac n'y est mie,  
 Montfort, Rohan, Quntin, ne la grant compaignie."

Mais j'ay bien de certain noble chevalerie,  
 Et de toute Bretagne la fleur de l'escurie,  
 f. 55r. Qui ne daigneroient fuir, ne à mort ne à vie, 275  
 Ne feroient traison, faulseté ne boudie.  
 Chacun [d'eulx] jure Dieu, le filz Sainte Marie,  
 Que vous mourrois à honte, voiant la compaignie,  
 Et vous et toux lez vostre, quoique chacun en die,  
 Serois prins et liéz ains l'oeuvre de complie." 280  
 Et Bomeboure sy respont, "Je ne prise une aillie  
 Tretoute vo(stre) posté ne vostre segneurie;  
 Car, maugré vous, ce jour j'e auray la maistrie  
 Et conquerroy Bretagne et toute Normendie."

## XXV

Bomeboure dit aux Englois, "Seigneurs, Bretons ont tort! 285  
 Ferés, frappez su eulx, metés tout à la mort,  
 Guardés que rien m'eschappe, [non] ne flebe ne fort!"  
 D'assaillir lez soixante, ilz sunt toux d'un accord;  
 A la premiere [joinete] fu grant le desconfort;  
 Charuël sy fu prins, Giuffray Mellon fu mort, 290  
 Et le vaillant Tritran, qui estoit grant et fort,  
 Fu feru du martel à douleur et à tort,  
 Messire Jehan Rousselot fu feru presqu'à (la) mort."

Se Jhesucrist n'en pense, qui tout maine à droit port,  
 Lez Bretons ont du piis vers eulx, je m'en fais fort. 295

273, noble chevalerie] noble l chevalerie; 288, soixante] lx.

[DIDOT MS]

**L**ors respondist Brambroc o la chiere hardye,  
 Et dist à Beaumanoir, "Vous faictes grant folie  
 De meetre ainsin à mort par vostre grant maistrie  
 La flour de la duchié, par vostre desverie." 305

"Brambroc," dist Beaumanoir, "pour Dieu ne pensés mie  
 Que j'ay ey ameiné la noble compaignie;  
 Laval ne Rochefort, Loheac n'y sont mie,  
 Montfort, Ro(c)han, Quintin, ne la grant baronie,  
 Leön ne Tournemine, qui sont de grant maistrie. 310  
 Mais j'ay bien admeiné noble chevalerie,  
 De toutes pars la flour, et de l'escuiérie,  
 Qui point ne fouÿront, ne pour mort ne pour vie;  
 Ne feront traison [ne] faulte ne boydie.  
 Chascun d'eux jure Dieu, le filz Sainte Marie, 315  
 Que vous mourrés à honte, voyant la compaignie,  
 Et vous et tous voz gients, quel que chascun en die,  
 Serés prins et liéz, ains l'eure de complie."

## XXVI

f. 6r. **B**rambroc dist aux Angloix, "Bretons aront le tort!  
 Ferés et frapés sus, meetés les tous à mort! 320  
 Guardés que rien n'eschappe, non ne feble ne fort!"  
 De s'assembler ensemble sont trestous d'ung accord:  
 A la premiere joinete fut fort le desconfort.  
 Charruël fust blecié, Geffroy Moelon fut mort,  
 Et le vaillant Tristan, qui estoit grant et fort, 325  
 Fust feru d'ung martel à douleur et à tort,  
 Sire Jehan Rouxellet dont fust grant desconfort,  
 Auxi Geffroy Poulart, qui dessus le champ dort.

305, desverie] desveerie; 314, feront] seront; 324, Moelon] Moelou.

## [BIGOT MS]

## XXVI

- G**rande fu la bataille dedens le pré herbu,  
 Caron de Bosdegas fu du martel (con)fondue,  
 Et le vaillant Tristran fu à la mort feru.  
 Lors s'escria moult hault, "Beaumanoir, où es-tu ?  
 Lez Englois sy m'en mainent, blechié et derompu! 300  
 Je n'eus onquez paür le jour que t'ay veü;  
 Se le vray Dieu n'en pense par sa sainte vertu,  
 Englois sy m'enmerront et vous m'aurois perdu."  
 Beaumanoir jure Dieu qui en crois fu pendu,  
 Avant y ara il maint rude coup feru 305  
 Et rompu mainte lance et perchié maint escu.  
 A ces parolez tient le biau branc esmoulu,—  
 f. 55v. Cil qu'il ataint à coup(en)est mort ou abatu—  
 Lez Englois radement se defendent de lu:  
 Trestoute la posté ne prisent un festu. 310

## XXVII

- Forte fu la bataille et le chapple felon  
 Et d'un costé et d'autre urent coeur de lion  
 Et toux par ordenance firent pettion  
 D'aller toux querre à boire à nulle arrestezon,  
 Chascun en sa boutaille, vin d'Anjou y fu bon. 315  
 Quant toux urent beü par ordination,  
 Lors vont à la bataille sans faire targison.

## XXVIII

- G**rande fu la bataille en my la praërie  
 Et le chapplé orrible et dure l'esturmie.  
 Lez Bretons ont du piis, ne vous mentiray mie; 320  
 Car deux sy en sunt mors et trespasés de vie,  
 Et trois sunt prisonnier,—(o) leur soit Dieu en aïe!  
 Ne sunt que vingt et cinq em bataille fournie.

- Mais Giuffroy de la Roche requiert chevalerie,  
 Un escuier moult noble de grant anchesourie, 325  
 Et Beaumanoir lui donne, en non Sainte Marie,  
 Et lui dit, "Beau doulx filz, or ne t'espargne mie;  
 Membre toy de celui qui, par cevalerie,  
 Fu en Constentinnoble à bele compaignie."

323, vingt et cinq; xxv; 329, Constentinnoble; Constentinnoble.



[DIDOT MS]

## XXVII

**Q**uant le vaillant Tristan santist qu'il fut feru,  
 A haulte voiz cria, "Beumanoir, où es tu ? 330  
 Je n'eu onques nul paour en lieu où t'ay congneu;  
 Les Anglois m'ont blecié, ilz m'ont à mort batu,  
 Sy Damme Dieu ne panse par la sienne vertu,  
 Ils me mainront o eulx et tu m'auras perdu."  
 Beaumanoir sy jura le vroy corps de Jhesu, 335  
 Avant y aura il maint rude coup feru,  
 Et percié mainte lance et percié maint escu.  
 A ces parolles traict le bon branc esmoulu,—  
 Ce qu'il ataint à coup est tout mort abatu—  
 Les Anglois roidement se deffendent de lu; 340  
 Tous ses dis et ses faitz ne prisent ung festu.

## XXVIII

Grande fust la bataille en my la praeërie,  
**E**t le chapplé horrible et dure l'escremie;  
 Bretons en ont du pire, ne vous mentiré mie,  
 Car deux d'eulx en sont morts et trespasés de vie 345  
 Et trois sont prisoniers,—Dieu leur soit en aye!  
 Plus n'a que vingt et cinq en bataille fournie.  
 Beaumanoir les conforte, o la chièr hardie,  
 Et Geffroy de la Roche requist chevalerie,  
 Ung escuier moult noble de grant assessourie, 350  
 Et Beaumanoir lui donne, ou nom Saincte Marie,  
 f. 6v. Et luy a dist, "Beau filz, si ne t'oublie mie;  
 Remembre toy de cil qui, pour chevalerie,  
 Fust en Constantinnoble en belle compaignie."

## [BIGOT MS]

Et Giuffroy jure Dieu, qui tout a em baillie, 330  
 Que Englois la comperront ains l'oeuvre de complie.  
 Et Bomebourg l'entendy, ne le prise une aillie,  
 Trestoute leur posté ne leur grant seigneurie;  
 Ains dit à Biaumanoir par moult grant estoutie,  
 "Rent toy tost, Beaumanoir, je ne t'ochiray mie, 335

Mais je feray de toy un present à m'amie,  
 Car je luy ay promis, ne luy mentiray mie,  
 Qu'au jour d'uy te mettray en sa chambre jolie."  
 Et Beaumanoir respont, "Je le te sourenvie;  
 Nous l'entendon moult bien, moy et ma compaignie, 340  
 S'il plaist au roy de gloire et à Sainte Marie,  
 f. 56r. A Saint Yves le bon, en qui moult je me fie.  
 Or giete tost le dé et sy ne te faing mie;  
 Sur toy sera hazart, courte sera ta vie."

## XXIX

Alain de Carromois si l'a bien entendu 345  
 Et luy dit, "Glout trichierre, qu'est ce que pensez tu ?  
 Penses tu amoïr homme de tel vertu ?  
 Le mien corps te deffie au jour d'uy de par lu;  
 Maintenant te ferray de mon clayve esmoulu."  
 Alain de Carromois l'oust à present feru 350  
 Par devant de sa lance dont le fer fu agu,  
 Que par my le visage, sy que chacun l'a veu,  
 Jusques en la cervelle lui a le fer (em)battu.  
 Il estendy son glaive si que Bomebourg est cheu;  
 Il sailli sur lez piés et cuida joindre à lu. 355  
 Messire Giuffroy de Bouès si l'a bien congneü,

Et le fiert d'une lance sy qu'il l'a aconcheu;  
 Et Bomebourg chay mort à la terre abatu.  
 Sy s'escria le(z) Bouez, "Beaumanoir, où es-tu ?

De cestu es (tu) vengié; il giest mort estendu." 360  
 Et Beaumanoir respont, que bien l'a entendu,  
 "Seigneurs, combatés fort; le temps en est venu!  
 Pour Dieu, allez aus aultrez et si laissez cestu!"

330, Giuffroy] je; 331, comperront] comperrront; 354, estendy] estemdy.

[DIDOT MS]

Et Geffroy jure Dieu, qui tout a en baillie,  
Angloix le comparront ains l'eure de complie. 355

**M**ais Brambroc l'entendist, ne le prise ung aillie,

Ains dist à Beaumanoir par moult grant estourdie,  
"Rens toy tost, Beaumanoir, et ne te tueré mie,  
Soyés sur et certain que ne te fauldré mie; 360  
Mais je feré de toy ung present à m'ameye.  
Je te luy ay grée, ne luy mantiré mie,  
Et te dy haultement ceste bataille envie."

Et Beaumanoir respont, "Et je la sourenvie;  
Nous la tendrons moult bien, moy et ma compaignie, 365  
S'il plaist au roy des roys, qui naquist de Marie,  
Et au tres bon Saint Yves, en qui bien je me fie.  
Gette bien tost les detz et si ne te faing mie;  
Sur toy sera hasart, courte sera ta vie."

## XXIX

**A**lain de Keranrais Brambroc a entendu 370  
Et luy a dist, "Glouton, que est ce que dis tu ?  
Pensé[s] bien avoir homme qui est de tiel vertu ?

Le mien corps te deffie en ce jour de par lu;  
Maintenant sentiras mon glaivé esmoulu!" 375  
Alain de Keranrais l'a en present feru  
Par devant de sa lance dont le fer fust agu,

Jusques à la cervelle il a son glaive batu.

Brambroc lors saillist sus et cuida joindre à lu;  
Messire Geffroy du Bois si l'a bien actendu,  
Le vaillant homme et noble, qui fust de grant vertu, 380  
Et le fiert de sa hache qui luy rompist le bu.  
Et Brambroc chet tout mort à [la] terre estandu.

Puis s'escrie le bon, "Beaumanoir, où es tu,  
Mon cher cousin germain, à qui Dieu doint salu ?  
f. 7r. De cest es tu vengé car il est abatu." 385  
Et Beaumanoir respont, qui l'a bien entendu,  
"Pensés de biën faire car le temps est venu;  
Pour Dieu alés ès aultres, laissés meshuy cestu!"

377, il a] la.

## [BIGOT MS]

## XXX

Or voient bien Englois que Bomeboure est passés,  
 (Et) l'orguel de lui cheü et lez grandes fiertés. 365  
 Lors appelle Crucart, un Alement devés,  
 "Segneurs, saichiés de vray, en fine veritez,  
 Faily nous a Bomeboure qui cy nous a (a)menez;  
 Toux lez livrez Merlin, que il a tant amez,  
 Ne luy ont pas valu deulx deniers monnoïés; 370  
 Il gist gueule b[a]lée, [et] mort et enversés.  
 Je vous pry, beaulx seigneurs, faictez com gens membrez;  
 Tenez vous l'un à l'autre estroitement serrés;  
 Cil qui vendra sur vous soit mort ou affolés."

f. 56v. Dieu! tant est Beaumanoir marry et courrouchiés, 375  
 S'ilz ne sunt departis à honte et à vieultez.  
 A yceste parole est Charuël levés  
 Et le vaillant Tritrans, qui moult estoit blechiers,  
 Caron de Bosedegas, le preux et l'alosés;  
 Toux (trois) estoient prisonniers à Bomeboure le devés; 380  
 Mais quant Bourboure fu mort ilz furent raquitez.  
 Chacun prent à (s)ses poings le bon branc acherez;  
 De ferir sur Englois ont bonnez volentez.

## XXXI

A pres la mort Bomeboure, le hardy combatant,  
 Fu grande la bataille et ly estour pesant, 385  
 Et le chappël orible et merueilleux et grant.  
 Apres [y] demoura dam Crucart l'Aleman  
 Et Thomas Belifort y fu comme g(u)éant,—  
 Cil combatoit d'un mail d'achier qui fu pesant—  
 (Et) Huë de Carvalay sy en faisoit autant. 390  
 Messire Robert Canole, qui fu mal engingnant,  
 Et toux leurs compaignons et chacun ensuivant.  
 Alemans et Englois s'e[n] vont toux effroiant  
 Et dient, "Venjons Bomeboure, nostre loial amant!  
 Metton toux à la mort, n'alon riens espargnant! 395  
 La journée sera nostre ains le soleil couchant!"  
 Mais Beaumanoir le noble leur fu au vis devant,  
 Lui et sez compaignons que il parama tant;  
 Là commencha un chapple, moult cruël et (moult) dolent,

[DIDOT MS]

## XXX

Or voyent les Anglois que Brambroc est passés  
 Et l'ourgouil de luy chet, et la grande fiertés. 390  
 Adonc parla Contart, ung Al[e]ment devés,  
 "Seigneurs, saichés de vroy, c'est fine verités,  
 Faily nous a Brambroc qui cy nous a meinés;  
 Tous les livres Merlin, que il a tant aymés,  
 Ne luy ont pas valu ung denier monnoyés; 395  
 Il gist goule bayée, mort tout plat en ces prés.  
 Sy vous pry, bons Anglois, comme gents remembrés,  
 Tenés vous l'ung à l'autre estroicement serrés;  
 Cil qui viendra sur nous, qu'il soit mort ou bleciés."  
 Ainsin le firent ilz comme gents bien senés. 400  
 Dieu! tant est Beaumanoir marry et courroucés  
 S'ilz ne sont departiz à honte et à viltés.  
 Et à ceste parolle est Charruël levés  
 Et le vaillant Tristan, qui ot esté blecés,  
 Caro de Bodegat, le preux et le senés; 405  
 Ceulx estoit prisoniers à Brambroc le devés;  
 Mais quant il estoit mort ilz furent acquittés.  
 Ceulx prindrent o les poings les brances bien acierés;  
 De ferir sur Anglois ont bone vouluntés.

## XXXI

Ampres la mort Brambroc, le hardy combatant, 410  
 Fust grande la bataille et ly estour pesant  
 Et le chapplé horrible et merveilleux et grant.  
 Pour Brambroc demoura dom Contart l'Alemant,  
 Thomelin Beliffart qui fust comme ung géant,—  
 Cil combatoit d'ung maill d'acier qui fust pesant— 415  
 Rippeffart, Cavalray, ceulx cy faisoient autant;  
 Messire Robin Crollés, qui fust mal engignant,  
 f. 7v. Et tous leurs compaignons et chascun ensuivant.  
 Alemans et Anglois s'en vont tous efforcent,  
 Disant, "Vengon Brambroc, nostre loyal amant! 420  
 Metton tous à la mort, n'alons nulz espargnant!  
 La journé est nostre avant souleil couchant!"  
 Mais Beaumanoir le noble leur fust bien au devant,  
 Luy et ses bons Bretons que il parayma tant,  
 Et commença bataille, cruellé et pesant, 425

## [BIGOT MS]

- Qu'(e) un quart de lieue entour en va retentissant 400  
 Des coupx, qui s'entredonnent sur leurs testez, moult grant;  
 Là mourru deux Englois et un bon Alemant  
 Et d'Ardaïne de Rains, ly convert soudoiant,  
 Fu mort et abatu ens en pré verdoiant.  
 Aussy Giuffroy Poulart gesoit trestout dormant, 405  
 Et Beaumanoir blechié, le hardy combatant;  
 Se Jhesucrist n'en pense, le pere tout puissant,  
 f. 57r. Et d'un costé ne d'autre nul n'en est eschapant.

## XXXII

- Grande fu la bataille et longement dura 410  
 Et le chapplé orrible et dechi et delà;  
 Ce fu (à) un semmedy que le soleil roia,  
 L'an mil trois cent cinquante, croie m'ent qui vouldra;  
 Le dimence d'apres, sainte eglise chanta  
 Letare Jherusalem. En yce saint temps là  
 Forment se combatoient, l'un l'autre n'espargna; 415  
 La chaleur fu moult grande, chacun sy tressua;  
 De sueur et de sanc la terre rosoya.  
 A ce bon semmedy Beaumanoir sy jeuna;  
 Grant soif oust le baron, à boire demanda.  
 Messire Giuffroy de Bouès tantost respondu a, 420  
 "Boif ton sanc, Beaumanoir, la soif te passera!  
 Ce jour aron honneur, chacun sy gaignera  
 Vaillante renoumée, ja blasmé(e) ne sera."  
 Beaumanoir le vaillant adonc s'esvertua;  
 Tel deul oust et tel yre que la soif luy passa. 425  
 Et d'un cost(r)é et d'autre le chapple commensa;  
 Mors furent ou blechiez, gaieres n'en eschappa.

## XXXIII

- Forte fu la bataille et le chapple mortel  
 My-voie de Josselin et du chasteau (da) Pelmel.  
 Dedens un moult beau pré, séant sur un cenel, 430  
 Le chesne d'en My-voie, ainsi est son appel.  
 Le lonc d'un genestay qui estoit vert et bel,  
 Là furent lez Englois tretoux en un moncel,  
 Carvalay le vaillant, le hardy jovencel,

403, d'Ardaïne de Rains] d'Ardaïne da derains; 403, convert] conuett; 412, trois cent] ccc.

[DIDOT MS]

Que une lieue entour va tout restondissant,  
Des coups qu'ilz s'entredonent là fut le son tres grant;  
Lors mourust deux Anglois, pour voir, et ung Alment.

Beumanoir fut blecié ou visaige devant  
Et fust Geffroy Poulart abatu tout dormant; 430  
Si Jhesucrist ne pense, le roy tout puissant,  
Ne d'ung cousté ne d'autre ne va nul eschappant.

## XXXII

Grande fut la bataille et longuement dura  
Et le chapplé horrible et decza et delà;  
Ce fut ung sabmedi que le souleil raya, 435  
L'an mil trois cent cinquante, corrige quiouldra,  
Le dimenche devant que sainte eglise chanta  
Letare Jherusalem. En icest saint temps là

La chalour fut moult grande, chascun y tressuya,  
Que le sang tout vermoil sur son corps desgoutta. 440  
Quant soeff ot Beaumanoir, à boire demanda.  
Messire Geffroy du Boys tantost respondu l'a,  
"Boy ton sang, Beaumanoir, ta soiff te passera!  
Ce jour est la journée que chascun gaignera  
Honneur et renommée, ou définé sera." 445  
Beumanoir le vaillant adonc s'evertua;  
Tiel deul eust et tiel ire que la soeff luy passa.  
Et d'ung cousté et d'autre la chapple commença;  
Trestous furent bleciés, guaires n'en demoura.

## XXXIII

f. 8r. Grande fut la bataille et le chapple mortel 450  
Mye-voie de Jocelin à chasteau Ploeärmel.  
Dedans ung moult beau plain, planté y à chenel,  
Là fut doné maint coup de hache et de martel,

436, trois cent cinquante] cecl; 438, icest] itest; 446, s'evertua] se vertua.



## [BIGOT MS]

- Et Thoumas Belifort combatoit d'un martel,— 435  
 Cil qu'il ataint à coup dessus son hasterel  
 Jamais ne mengera de miche ne de gastel.  
 Beaumanoir lez regarde, à qui point n'en fu bel,  
 Moult grant deul a de voir devant luy tel jouël;  
 For(men)t fu desconforté, or luy aist Saint Michiel. 440  
 f. 57v. Messire Giuffroy de Bouèz, qui fu fort et ysel,  
 Noblement le conforte com gentil demoisel  
 Et dit, "Gentil baron, voiez cy Charuël  
 [Et] Tintinlat le bon et Robin Raguenel  
 Guillaume de La Marche et Olivier Arel 445  
 Et Gui de Rochefort,—voiez son pennoncel.

N'y a cellui qui n'ait lance, espée et coutel;  
 Toux pres sunt d'eulx combatre com gentil joëncel;  
 Encore feront eulx aux Englois doeul nouvel."

## XXXIV

- Grande fu la bataille, jamais tele n'orrés. 450  
 Forment se contenoient lez Englois aliëz;  
 Homme n'entre sur eulx ne soit mort ou blechiez;  
 Toux sunt en un moncel com si fussent liëz.  
 De Montauben Guillaume, le preux et l'alosés,  
 De l'estour est yssu et lez a regardez; 455  
 Grant courage lui print, le coeur lui est enflez,  
 Et jure Jhesucrist, qui en crois fu penés,  
 S'il fust sur un cheval bien monté à son grés,  
 Tretoux lez departist à honte et à vieultez.  
 Bons esperons trenchans lors caucha en ses piez, 460  
 Monta sur un cheval qui fu de grant fiertez  
 Et lors print une lance dont le fer fu carrez;  
 Semblant fist de fuir, ly escuier membrez.  
 Beaumanoir le regarde, puis l'a aroissonnez,  
 Et dyt, "Amy Guillaume, qu'est ce que vous pensés ? 465  
 Comme faulx et mauvais, comant, vous en allés ?  
 A vous et à vos hoirs vous sera repreuchiez."  
 Quant Guillaume l'entent, un ris en a gettez;  
 A haulte vois parla que bien fu escoutez:  
 "Besoigniez, Beaumanoir, franc chevalier membrez, 470  
 Car bien besoingneray; ce sunt toux mes pensés."

454, Montauben] Mont auben; 466, courant] comant(?); 467, hoirs] hoires.

[DIDOT MS]

Missire Geffroy du Boys, qui fut fort et isnel,  
 Conforte Beaumanoir ou nom de Saint Marcel 455  
 Et luy dist, "Noble sire, voyés cy Charruël,  
 Guillaume de la Marche et Olivier Arrel,  
 Et Tintiniac le bon et Robin Raganel  
 Et Guy de Rochefort,—voiez (cy) son panoncel—  
 Et Geffroy de la Roche, le chevalier nouvel. 460  
 N'y a cil qui n'aet lance, ou espée ou coutel;  
 Tous sont prests de combatre ou nom de jouvencel;  
 Encore seront ilz aux Anglois deul nouvel."

## XXXIV

Grande fut la bataille, jamais telle n'orrés.  
 Fortement se tenoyent les Anglois aliés; 465  
 Tretous s'entretenoyent si come gents liés;  
 Homme n'entre sur eulx qui n'est mort ou bleciés.  
 Mais grandement les a Guillaume regardés,

Celuy de Montauban, qui tant fust alosérs,  
 Et jure Jhesucrist, qui fut en croys pennés, 470  
 Que s'il fust à cheval bien monté à ses grés,  
 Il les despareroit à honte et à viltés.  
 Deus esperons poignans a chaussés en ses piés,  
 Monte sur ung cheval qui fut de grant bontés.

Beaumanoir le reguarde, qui l'a araisonnés, 475  
 Et luy a dist, "Guillaume, quelles sont voz pensers?  
 Comme faulx et traïstre, courant vous en alés;  
 A jamais en ta vie te sera reprouchés."  
 Et Montauban respont par moult tres grant fiertés  
 Et haultement parla, qui bien fut escoutés, 480  
 "Besoinnés, Beaumanoir, franc chevalier menbrés,  
 Car je besoigneré; et telz sont mes pensers."

472 dispareroit] dispararoit.

## [BIGOT MS]

- Lors broche le cheval par flans et par costés  
 Que le sanc tout vermeil en chaï sur lez prés.  
 f. 58r. Par lez Englois se boutte, sept en a trebuchiez;  
 Au retour en a trois soubz lui agraventés. 475  
 A ce coup lez Englois furent esparpillés;  
 T'oux perdirent lez coeurs, c'est fine verités,  
 Qui veult y a choisy, prins et serementez.  
 Montauban hault parla quant lez a regardés.  
 "Montjoie!" s'esceria, "barons, or y ferés!  
 480  
 Essoiés vous tretoux, frans chevaliers membrez,  
 Tintiniat le bon, le preux et l'alosés  
 Et Gui de Rochefort, Charuël l'amornez,  
 Tretoux nous compaignons, que Dieu croisse [en] bontez,  
 Vengiez vous dez Englois, tous à vo(u)s volentez!" 485

## XXXV

- G**rande fu la bataille et li estour planier;  
 Tintiniat le bon estoit tout le premier,  
 Celluy de Beaumanoir, que l'en doibt renommer,  
 Que toux jours pour ce fait orra on de lui parler,  
 Dez Englois ont eü la force et lez po(o)stez. 490  
 Ly un sunt fiancié, ly aultre prisonnier;  
 Canole et Carvalay sy sunt en grant dangier  
 Et Thoumas Belifort n'y oust que courouchier  
 Et toux leurs compaignons, sans point de l'atargier.  
 Par l'(e) emprise Bomeboure, qui estoit fort et fier. 495  
 Messire Jehan Plansanton, Ridele le guerrier,  
 H[u]llecoq son frere ne fait à oublier,  
 Rippefort le vaillant et d'Illande le fier  
 Au chateau Josselin sunt menés sans targier.  
 Et pour ceste bataille orrois souvent parler, 500  
 Car l'en soit lez vieulx dis et tout par roumander,  
 Ly uns par lettre escripte ou painte en tappichiés,  
 Par trestoux lez roiaulmez qui sunt de chi la mer:  
 Et s'en voudront esbatre maint gentil chevalier  
 Et mainte noble dame qui moult a le vis cler, 505  
 Comment l'en soit d'Artus et de Charlez le ber,  
 f. 58v. De Guillaume au cornair, Roulant et Olivier;  
 De cy à trois cens ans en voudront roumander  
 (De) la bataille dez trente qui fu faicte sans per.

479, Montauban] Mont auban; 489, toux] tour.

[DIDOT MS]

f. 8v. Lors heurta le cheval par flancs et par costés,  
Que le sang tout vermoil en sailloit par les prés.  
Ampres print une lance dont le fer fust carrés;  
Par Anglois se bouta, sept en a trebuschés;  
Au retour en a trois et liétz à ses detz.  
A ce coup les Anglois furent desconfités.

485

[BIGOT MS]

XXXVI

**G**rande fu la bataille, certez n'en doubtez mie; 510

Englois sunt desconfis, qui voudrent par envie

Avoir sur lez Bretons posté et seigneurie;

Mais tretout leur orgueil tourna en grant folie.

Sy pry à celluy Dieu, qui nasqui de Marie,

Pour toux ceulx qui furent en celle compaignie, 515

Soient Bretons ou Englois,—partout Dieu en deprie,

Au jour de jugement que dampnez ne soient mie,

Saint Michiel, Gabriël, ce jour leur soit (en) aïe;

Or en ditez, "amen," tretoux, que Dieu l'octrie!

Cy fine la bataille de trente<sup>1</sup> Englois et de trente<sup>2</sup> Bretons qui fu faite  
em Bretaigne, l'an de grace mil trois cens cinquante, le semmedy devant letare  
Jherusalem.

519, octrie] octrole.

<sup>1</sup> trente] xxx; <sup>2</sup> trente] xxx.

[DIDOT MS]

## XXXV

Grande fut la bataille en my la prayérie;  
Mercy au roy des roys, qui naquist de Marie; 490  
Anglois sont desconfitz, qui vouloyent par lourdie  
Avoir sur les Bretons puissance et seignourie;  
Mais toute leur pensée tourna en grant follie.  
Si prie celuy Dieu, qui tout a en baillie,  
Pour tous ceulx qui y furent, pour yceulx le deprie, 495  
Qu'ilz ayent de paradis la pardurable vie;  
Au jour du jugement que dampnés ne soint mye.  
Saint Michel, Gabriël, leur soyés en aïe;  
Or en dirons "amen," chascun que Dieu l'ottrie!  
Explicit la bataille de trante.

## NOTES TO THE TEXT

**D2**, *baneretz chevaliers*; **B2**, *bannerois bachelers*. The term *bannerets* was ordinarily used with *chevaliers* to indicate a *chevalier* of some distinction. In turn *chevalier* is of greater distinction than *bachelor*. Cf.:

"L'ordre de banneret est plus que chevaliers,  
Comme apres chevalier acconsuit bachelier."

—*Les chevaliers bannerets* (Pièces rel. à l'histoire de France, XII, 437).

A *chevalier banneret* was one "qui avait assez de vassaux pour en composer une compagnie et lever bannière" (cf. Godef. Supp.). On *banneret*, cf. *Romania* XXXII, 181-84 (A. Thomas). The word is first used in the *Coutumes de Beauvoisis* (ed. Salmon, sec. 1242). The *bachelor* were a younger and secondary degree of knight-hood (cf. Lacroix, *La Vie Militaire*, p. 48). It is surprising to see the expression *bannerois bachelers*, though Gautier (*La Chevalerie*, Paris, 1884, p. 192) quotes illustrations from the *Charroi de Nîmes* (23-25) and *Parise la Duchesse* (1522) to show that a *bachelor* might also be a *chevalier*. Cf. also W. A. Stowell in *Studies in Honor of A. M. Elliott*, Baltimore, 1911, Vol. I, pp. 225-36.

**B4**.—*menestreëlz*: Picard form for *menesterelz*.

**DB7**.—*uoye, vraie*: Bartsch avoids hiatus of feminine *e* in *histoire* by writing *veraye*. However, hiatus is fairly common in the *Bataille*.

—*clergons, clarjons*. According to Godefroy (q.v.) the word is still used in Poitou in the sense of "choir boy."

**D17**.—*raison vous vueil rendre*: MS has *tendre* but *rendre raison* is found as late as the seventeenth century (cf. Pascal, *Pensées*, X, ed. Havet; Corneille, *Sertorius*, V, 2).

**D20**.—*ammes*; MS *āmes*. This sign (̄), used by the Didot scribe, invariably indicates *m* when placed over a vowel before *m*. The form *ammes* occurs in a document of 1268 of Chaumont (Loir et Cher); cf. Godefroy, Supp. s.v.

**B20**.—*quer* (QUA RE) in accented position. Schwan-Behrens (8th ed. sect. 52, 1, a) calls *quer* a crossing of *quare* and *que*.

**BD21**.—Bartsch writes *du siecle deviē*, which receives justification as *deviē* (DEVITARE). In both MSS it is 2 syl. (cf. *oublié* [OBLITARE] D27, B28). The couplet in *-ie* (B22-23) does not belong in the *laisse*. B23 is not in D and seems an interpolation. The correct reading is undoubtedly that of D, thus removing all inconsistency in the *laisse*.

**DB22**.—*Aulray, Auray*. In Breton, *Abrac*; today chef lieu of canton, dépt. Morbihan, arr. L'Orient. According to Le Baud, the founder was King Arthur.

**D24**.—*certen*. A Francian form (cf. Metzke, 65, p. 59) Bartsch alters to *certein*.

**B26**.—*menues gens de ville* is impossible, for the article is needed and even as it stands the hemistich makes *menues* dissyllabic. D26 is correct. *Gens* here "personnes"; cf. other examples in Godefroy, s.v.

**D28**—**B29**.—*pour luy demouré*: i.e., "has remained in his place." The idiom *demourer pour qqn.* is used in the fourteenth century as *se porter garant pour qqn.* (cf. Godefroy for examples from Froissart and *Perceforest*). The sense in the



text seems not so much the idea of going bail for Dagge worth as that of standing in his place to make good his promises.

**D31.**—*Ploeërmel* (Lat., *Plamelium*), mod. *Ploërmel*, Breton, *Plou-Arthmael*. The city honors as its founder St. Arthmael, an Anglo-Saxon monk, who traversed Bretagne on his way to the court of King Childebert. *Plou*, "people" (Breton) (cf. A. J. C. Hare; *Northwestern France*, London, 1904, p. 223, note). B writes *Pelme* incorrectly. The word is always three syllables in Froissart (cf. ed. K. de Lettenhove, III, 368; IV, 166; V, 289, 292, etc., and in the *Livre du bon duc Jehan*, ll. 946, 3757, ed. Charrière).

**D35—B36.**—*messire*: two syllables; cf. D150, 187, 191, 380, etc.; B108, 146, 150, 293, etc.; *sire* is also found as a monosyllable, D328; but dissyllabic, B72, 236.

*Jehan*: here dissyllabic as in D328 (cf. Reis, *Die Sprache des Livre du bon Jehan, duc de Bretagne*, Erlangen, 1903, p. 14); as a monosyllable, D191; B150, 293, 495. Both *sire* and *messire* are terms of respect, the latter being used only with nobles of highest rank (cf. Stowell, *Old French Titles of Respect*, Baltimore, 1908, pp. 202 and 221).

*veoir, seurté*: the pretonic *e* has no metrical value. It begins to disappear about this time, though diaeresis is found in the poems of Christine de Pizan (cf. *Mod. Phil.*, July, 1908).

**D37.**—*chetifz*: a final *v* becomes *vf* and is written *ff* in the west. Examples of this are frequent in the *Livre* (cf. *brieff*, 14, 986, 1514; *chetifz*, 3454; *neuff*, 658, etc.). According to Reis (*op. cit.*, p. 30) these doubled consonants were pronounced. Cf. also in the *Bataille*, *beuffz*, 40; *soutiff*, 74.

**D39.**—*ainsin*: this form is attested by rime in the *Livre* (cf. ll. 359, 583, 1201, etc.). The nasal pronunciation was long current as attested by Balf and H. Estienne (cf. Thurot, II, 498 and Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 47). Bartsch wrote *ainsi*.

**B39.**—*en chesp*; MS *un chesp*. Buchon and Crapelet also correct to *en*.

**D46.**—*de ceulz* (?), B47, *de quoy* is the correct reading.

**D48—B49.**—*aré, éré*: the feminine *arée* is more common = *terre labourée*, i.e., "ploughed land." Cf. "de opere rurali, id est arato vel vinea vel sectione, messionem." . . . Du Cange, *Glossaire*, I, 353. Prof. Foerster in *ZrP*, XXIX, 4 ff., quotes this passage and says "kann nur Ackerland, Acker, bedeuten." Cf. also G, Paris, *Romania* XIII, 130.

**D49.**—*flayeu*: *eul* for *el* is regular in the northwest, e.g., *QUALEM queu* with corresponding fem. *queule*. Cf. *Vocabulaire du Haute-Maine*, quoted by Goerlich, *Rom. Stud.*, V, 17.

**D50b.**—It is possible that the scribe confused with the idiom *avoir costume*. B51 has the smoother reading.

**D52.**—Bartsch interpolates *il* unnecessarily.

**D56.**—Bartsch writes *se* for *sy*; both MSS are plain.

**DB57.**—*Saint Mahé*: "ville et abbé de Finistère à la pointe Saint-Mathieu," mentioned also by Cuvelier, *Bertrand du Guesclin*, l. 18720 and in *Roman d'Aquin*, l. 2153 (ed. F. Jouon des Longrais, Nantes, 1880, in Soc. d. Bibliophiles bretons).

**D59.**—*haut*: Bartsch writes *baut* (!)

**D67—B66.**—Proverbs of similar tenor on boasting are to be found listed by A. Kadler (*Ausg. u. Abhand.*, XLIX, 84–85). Cf. D76–77.

**D72—B71.**—The combat is thus to determine who is in the *right*, not who is the stronger. That it was so intended is confirmed by the mass attended by the Bretons (cf. D229, B190); one notes the omission of this act on the part of the English. Whether the author makes this omission intentionally, to give us the idea that the latter did not receive the blessing of God, cannot be said. Such masses were usually said before judicial combat (cf. L. Gautier, *La Chevalerie*, 42–44).

**D73–106.**—Laisse V of D is omitted from B. It contains exactly 33 lines, the regular number contained in a page of B, so that the scribe has evidently omitted one page in copying, or, it may be, he copied from a MS which omitted it. The correspondance of D and B begins with D107—B73; B72, which contains Brambro's acceptance, is not found in D and may be an interpolation by the scribe who was conscious of a lacuna.

**D78.**—*Pierres Angier*: the man and the event referred to have not been identified. The chronicles contain no mention of them or of a place named *Ambiasat* (l. 81). D'Argentré (*op. cit.*, p. 299) calls him "Pierre Bigier" and the place "Boussac"; a town of this name is in Ille-et-Vilaine (arr. St. Malo).

**D85.**—Bartsch writes *grans*.

**D91.**—I have preferred to write this line *vueillē ayder* rather than *vueille ayder* as cases of undoubted hiatus in the poem are sufficiently frequent to justify it; *aide* (B185) is undoubtedly to be written without diaeresis and likewise in D114 if we write *qu(e) il* there. Still we find *aide:subside* in the fifteenth century (cf. Godefroy, s.v.) and according to Reis (*op. cit.*, p. 14) *a+i* is frequent in the *Livre* both as one and two syllables. Cf. *païs* (DB30).

**D100.**—*abatre*: *t* simplified to *t*. The process is frequent in the *Livre* (cf. *batre*, ll. 507, 508, 1133).

**D103.**—*ordrenner*: Bartsch writes *ordenner*.

—*Jocelin*; dept. Morbihan, arr. Ploërmel. The place owes its name to the castle built by Jocelin de Porhoët and is mentioned by Froissart (ed. K. de Lettenhove, XXIV, 385).

**B72.**—*je le vous fiant*: *t* for *ts(z)*.

**D108.**—Bartsch writes *loyaulmens*; MS has *loyaulmēt*.

—Bartsch has *feroint*: *seroint*.

**D110.**—Bartsch writes *doutz* (douze). The MS reading is plain and the emendation does not improve the sense.

**D110–112.**—These important lines are lacking in B and give the justification for Guillaume de Montauban's seemingly unknighly act (cf. D470–489; B454–476) which brought about the discomfiture of the English. This matter provided material for discussion for the historians, none of whom, till recently, were acquainted with the Didot version (cf. Pitre-Chevalier, *op. cit.*, p. 385; also *La Borderie, op. cit.*, p. 514, n. 5).

**D113—B76.**—Both MSS corrupted, D badly so: *voit* (B), *voint* < *VINCIT*; cf. *Vers de la Mort*, ed. Wulff and Walberg, Str. 25, 11.

D114.—Bartsch writes *Qu'il en as* in B77.

B82-83.—D has much the smoother reading for this passage. For the phrase *mestier n'y a celée*, cf. *Florence de Rome*, ll. 1662, 3731, 4945.

B86.—*demourance* (MS *doublance*, which makes the hemistich one syl. short); cf. D124; the copyist was misled by B92.

B93a.—Is hypermetric; D132 probably represents the correct reading.

B94.—*Plaisance*. The particular town cannot be identified. Froissart mentions three places of this name, none of which seems likely to be the *Plaisance* of the *Bataille* (cf. *Oeuvres*, ed. K. de Lettenhove, IX, 550; XVIII, 368; XVIII, 463). It may be noted that the name is a common one in the *Dict. des Communes* by Gindre de Maney. No less than six are located in the west: (1) Loire-Inférieure; (2) Loiret; (3) Loiret; (4) Loiret; (5) Maine-et-Loire; (6) La Manche.

B95 ff.—F.: reads very roughly and is probably corrupt; the Didot version is much clearer and more satisfactory. B95 reads *barons*, which may be due to the influence of B102. The rime requires *bacheliers* as in D134.

D129.—Bartsch reads *moult grande*.

D132.—If the line is correct we have a case of the loss of final feminine *e* after two consonants in *royaulme*. Such a loss is without parallel in the *Bataille*. Possibly B represents the correct reading here. Bartsch reads *el royaulme*.

B103.—*pren* [dray]: cf. B114.

B106.—*Yvon*; MS *Yon*. For the oblique case, cf. Cuvelier, *Bertrand*, l. 13784. Crapelet suggests *Huon*; D has *St. Symon*. But St. Yves was a popular Breton saint who died at Lohanec, May 19, 1303 (cf. Benjoy, *La vie de St. Yves*, tirée d'un ms. sur vélin du XIV<sup>e</sup>. siècle, St. Brieuc, 1884. reviewed in *Bib. Ec. Chartes*, XLVI [1885]); cf. also D368; B342.

D138.—*ranczons*: *cz* for *s* is common in the northwest, particularly after a nasal (cf. *Livre*, l. 85; D426, 435, 449). See also Goerlich, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

D147.—*Guillaume de la Lande*: confusion with the squire of that name; cf. D177.

B107.—*Boscdegas*, *Bodegat* (D146). MS has *Bosc de Gas* (as also Buchon). The Picard scribe was unfamiliar with the name and confuses with the Picard doublet of *bois* which is *bos(c)*.

B108.—*Bouès*; D, *Boys*; Buchon, *Boves*; Crapelet, *Bones*. MS writes *u* plainly. The meter demands monosyllabic value; *e=ai* here. De Courcy, *op. cit.*, p. 36, states that the name is written *Bouais* by some members of the family.

B115b.—Two syllables short; cf. D155 for correct reading.

D157.—*Keranraes* for *Keranrais* (Bartsch, *Carramois*); *ae* for *ai* is frequent in the west before a strong sibilant; cf. *faesmes* (D68), *faescons* (D219); also *Livre*, 1545, 1547, 2603, etc. (Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 18; Goerlich, *op. cit.*, p. 21).

D159.—*leurs*; MS has *le<sup>s</sup>*. This abbreviation stands for both singular (cf. D189) and plural; I write *leurs* on the authority of D179, where the word is written out.

B118.—*Lois Guion*; MS *Lors*; Crapelet, *Lors*; Buchon, *Lois*.

**D163—B122.**—*bonté, Brice.* D has a clearer reading (*bonté* here "bravery"; cf. *Ren. de Montauban*, in Bartsch-Horning, p. 63, l. 124). De Courcy, *op. cit.*, p. 46, mentions an Eudes de la Roche (also named Budes and qualified as *bon pere*) who as crusader accompanied Baudouin, count of Flanders, to the siege of Constantinople and to Greece, in 1204. Members of the la Roche family occur as dukes of Athens in the thirteenth century. This traditional association with Baudouin may have led the Picard scribe to assume a connection. Beaumanoir also refers again to Geoffroy's father (cf. D353, B328).

**D164—B123.**—Bartsch writes *Constantinoble*.

**D165—B124.**—The completion of the condition (B126), which is not found in D, is responsible for the change of tense. It is impossible to say whether the original contained this condition.

**B125.**—*dont*: the old subjunctive: a stereotyped phrase (cf. *Schwan-Behrens*, Sec. 353); note also *gart* (B143).

**D174—B134.**—*luy*: in *laisse with mercy*, etc. In the fourteenth century *luy* was often pronounced *li* (cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Hist. Gram. d. frz. Spr.*, Sec. 265).

**B128.**—*Trisguidy*: the second hemistich is two syllables short in MS (cf. D168 which has the correct reading). *Trézéguidy* is the proper form; cf. Introduction, II.

**B129.**—*Pontblanc*: this is the proper form of the name (cf. D. Morice, *op. cit.*, p. 235; De Courcy, *op. cit.*, p. 50; D. Lobineau, *op. cit.*, X, 98 (p. 343).

**B130.**—The historians agree on the form *Du Parc*.

**D171—B131.**—*Beaucours*: *Beaucorps*, both forms of the name are known; cf. Introduction, II.

**D172.**—*Villong*: the *g* emphasizes the pronunciation of *n* together with a guttural (cf. Goerlich, *op. cit.*, p. 62).

**D176—77.**—The second hemistichs are reversed from the order in B136—37.

**B142.**—Neither hemistich is metrically correct, probably on account of the scribe's carelessness (cf. D183).

**D185.**—*encontre*: MS has *honte* which is repeated from the preceding line. Possibly we should also read *tele* for *male* as in B144.

**B144.**—*envoit*: so also Bartsch (l. 185). The old subjunctive again as demanded by the following line. Crapelet notes, "*avoit . . . envoie*." We might also read *a[n]voit*.

**D188—B147.**—*tart*: *avoir tart*—"il m'est besoin." It will be remembered that Brambro was short of men since he had to fill up his number with Germans and Bretons.

**D189.**—*Je ne sçay pas leurs noms*. A seeming contradiction, for the author proceeds to enumerate them, although very inaccurately. B148 is much more to the point.

**D190.**—*Conchart* for *Crucari* (B149). This may be an attempt of the author to twist Crucari's name into an epithet. Cf. *Contart*, D391, 413; also *Huceton le contart* (D205); *conchié = dupe* (*Roman de la Rose*, Bartsch, *Chrest. St.* 61, l. 149).

**D192—B151.**—*Huelcoc*: metrically three syllables. Both lines are incorrect metrically in the MS. It is accepted that *Helecoq* (or *Huelcoc*) was the brother of

*Redoure (Ridele)*; cf. De Courcy (*op. cit.*, p. 65); La Borderie (*op. cit.*, p. 515) although D. Morice (*op. cit.*, p. 236) apparently indicates the contrary. We should perhaps emend by placing *et* at the beginning of both lines and also begin the second hemistich with *et* as in B. The name occurs again in B497 where a similar change is necessitated by the meter. The scribe may well have omitted the connective which occurs several times in the passage. *Huëlcoc (Helecoq, Hillecoq)*—*Huë le Coq (?)*.

**D195.**—*marc*: should probably read *quart* as in B154. Godefroy cites *marc* as a weight of 8 oz., serving to weigh gold and silver.

**D197.**—*Huëlcoc*: should read *Huceton*. The scribe has confused the line with l. 192. Cf. D. Morice, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

**B159-160.**—*Agappart*—*Renouart*. B. also mentions other characters of the old French epic in ll. 506-7. Langlois (*Table des noms propres*) cites four of the name Agappart. The combat referred to here is recorded in *Aliscans* (ed. Guessard), pp. 180-84. *Renouart* or *Renouart au tinel*, the son of Saracen king *Desramé* (in *Aliscans*); baptized, he fights by the side of Guillaume d'Orange against the Saracens.

**D200.**—*Renequin Helcart*; the second hemistich is short one syllable. Possibly the *Herouart* of B (cf. D. Morice *et al.*) is the correct reading.

**B168.**—*liespart*: 2 syl., if *fu* is correct. We may read as in D206, but the word is found both as 2 syl. and as 3 syl. in the fourteenth century (cf. forms like *liëpart*, *lepart*, *lipart*, in E. Deschamps, ed. Soc. Anc. Textes, X, 76). The *s* is unetymological.

**D207—B169.**—*St. Lenart*, *St. Godart*. The most famous saint named *Lenart* was the hermit of Micy who founded the monastery of Noblac (Nobiliacense) in Limousin, four miles from Limoges. He died 559 (?), Saint's Day, November 6. (Cf. U. Chevalier, *Bio-Bibliographie*, Paris, 1907.) He preached the gospel in central France (Berry). There are also three other saints from this locality (cf. Wetzler-Welte, *Katholisches Kirchenlexikon*, 2d ed., art. "Leonhard"): (1) of Vandreuve (Vendoperense), bishop of Le Mans (day, Oct. 15); (2) of Dunois, honored in bishopric of Blois (day, December 8); (3) abbot of Celles in Berry (day, December 30). *St. Leonard* of Vandreuve is probably the one in the author's mind, but very likely these various personages were more or less blended into one in the popular conception. *St. Godard*, bishop of Rouen, b. ca. 490, d. 525 (day, June 8). He is the natural saint for a Picard scribe to have in mind. Cf. Bolland, *Bib. hag. lat.* (1899), p. 527. His life is found, *Gildardi Vita*, in *Analecta Bollandiae*, Bruxelles, Vol. VIII (1889), pp. 393-402.

**D209.**—*Dagorne*: a scribal error for *d'Ardaine* (D206).

**B173—D212.**—*Dynart*: com. of Saint-Enogat (Ille-et-Vilaine), 4 km. from St. Malo.

**D213.**—*moult* for *maint* (B174).

**D224.**—*santismes*; *a+i* element = *a*. Goerlich, *op. cit.*, p. 21, quotes similar instances from Anjou, in which he sees only the learned influence. As for the use of the plural form, see K. Tolle, *Das Bethuern u. Beschwören in d. altröm. Poesie*, Erlangen, 1883, pp. 28-29.

**D163—B122.**—*bonté, Brice.* D has a clearer reading (*bonté* here "bravery"; cf. *Ren. de Montauban*, in Bartsch-Horning, p. 63, l. 124). De Courcy, *op. cit.*, p. 46, mentions an Eudes de la Roche (also named Budes and qualified as *bon pere*) who as crusader accompanied Baudouin, count of Flanders, to the siege of Constantinople and to Greece, in 1204. Members of the la Roche family occur as dukes of Athens in the thirteenth century. This traditional association with Baudouin may have led the Picard scribe to assume a connection. Beaumanoir also refers again to Geoffroy's father (cf. D353, B328).

**D164—B123.**—Bartsch writes *Constantinoble*.

**D165—B124.**—The completion of the condition (B126), which is not found in D, is responsible for the change of tense. It is impossible to say whether the original contained this condition.

**B125.**—*dont*: the old subjunctive: a stereotyped phrase (cf. *Schwan-Behrens*, Sec. 353); note also *gart* (B143).

**D174—B134.**—*luy*: in *laisse* with *mercy*, etc. In the fourteenth century *luy* was often pronounced *li* (cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Hist. Gram. d. frz. Spr.*, Sec. 265).

**B128.**—*Trisguidy*: the second hemistich is two syllables short in MS (cf. D168 which has the correct reading). *Trézéguidy* is the proper form; cf. Introduction, II.

**B129.**—*Pontblanc*: this is the proper form of the name (cf. D. Morice, *op. cit.*, p. 235; De Courcy, *op. cit.*, p. 50; D. Lobineau, *op. cit.*, X, 98 (p. 343).

**B130.**—The historians agree on the form *Du Parc*.

**D171—B131.**—*Beaucours*: *Beaucorps*, both forms of the name are known; cf. Introduction, II.

**D172.**—*Villong*: the *g* emphasizes the pronunciation of *n* together with a guttural (cf. Goerlich, *op. cit.*, p. 62).

**D176—77.**—The second hemistichs are reversed from the order in B136—37.

**B142.**—Neither hemistich is metrically correct, probably on account of the scribe's carelessness (cf. D183).

**D185.**—*encontre*: MS has *honte* which is repeated from the preceding line. Possibly we should also read *tele* for *male* as in B144.

**B144.**—*envoit*: so also Bartsch (l. 185). The old subjunctive again as demanded by the following line. Crapelet notes, "*avoit . . . envoie*." We might also read *a[n]voit*.

**D188—B147.**—*tart*: *avoir tart*—"il m'est besoin." It will be remembered that Brambro was short of men since he had to fill up his number with Germans and Bretons.

**D189.**—*Je ne sçay pas leurs noms*. A seeming contradiction, for the author proceeds to enumerate them, although very inaccurately. B148 is much more to the point.

**D190.**—*Conchart* for *Crucart* (B149). This may be an attempt of the author to twist *Crucart*'s name into an epithet. Cf. *Contart*, D391, 413; also *Huceton le contart* (D205); *conchié=dupe* (*Roman de la Rose*, Bartsch, *Chrest.* St. 61, l. 149).

**D192—B151.**—*Huëlcoec*: metrically three syllables. Both lines are incorrect metrically in the MS. It is accepted that *Helecoq* (or *Huelcoec*) was the brother of

*Redoure (Ridele)*; cf. De Courcy (*op. cit.*, p. 65); La Borderie (*op. cit.*, p. 515) although D. Morice (*op. cit.*, p. 236) apparently indicates the contrary. We should perhaps emend by placing *et* at the beginning of both lines and also begin the second hemistich with *et* as in B. The name occurs again in B497 where a similar change is necessitated by the meter. The scribe may well have omitted the connective which occurs several times in the passage. *Huëlcoq (Helccoq, Hillecoq)*—*Huë le Coq (?)*.

**D195.**—*marc*: should probably read *quart* as in B154. Godefroy cites *marc* as a weight of 8 oz., serving to weigh gold and silver.

**D197.**—*Huëlcoq*: should read *Huceton*. The scribe has confused the line with l. 192. Cf. D. Morice, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

**B159-160.**—*Agappart—Renouart*. B. also mentions other characters of the old French epic in ll. 506-7. Langlois (*Table des noms propres*) cites four of the name Agappart. The combat referred to here is recorded in *Aliscans* (ed. Guessard), pp. 180-84. *Renouart* or *Renouart au tinet*, the son of Saracen king *Desramé* (in *Aliscans*); baptized, he fights by the side of Guillaume d'Orange against the Saracens.

**D200.**—*Renequin Helcart*; the second hemistich is short one syllable. Possibly the *Herouart* of B (cf. D. Morice *et al.*) is the correct reading.

**B168.**—*liespart*: 2 syl., if *fu* is correct. We may read as in D206, but the word is found both as 2 syl. and as 3 syl. in the fourteenth century (cf. forms like *liēpart*, *lepart*, *lipart*, in E. Deschamps, ed. Soc. Anc. Textes, X, 76). The *s* is unetymological.

**D207—B169.**—*St. Lenart, St. Godart*. The most famous saint named *Lenart* was the hermit of Micy who founded the monastery of Noblac (Nobiliacense) in Limousin, four miles from Limoges. He died 559 (?), Saint's Day, November 6. (Cf. U. Chevalier, *Bio-Bibliographie*, Paris, 1907.) He preached the gospel in central France (Berry). There are also three other saints from this locality (cf. Wetzer-Welte, *Katholisches Kirchenlexikon*, 2d ed., art. "Leonhard"): (1) of Vandreuve (Vendoperense), bishop of Le Mans (day, Oct. 15); (2) of Dunois, honored in bishopric of Blois (day, December 8); (3) abbot of Celles in Berry (day, December 30). St. Leonard of Vandreuve is probably the one in the author's mind, but very likely these various personages were more or less blended into one in the popular conception. *St. Godard*, bishop of Rouen, b. ca. 490, d. 525 (day, June 8). He is the natural saint for a Picard scribe to have in mind. Cf. Bolland, *Bib. hag. lat.* (1899), p. 527. His life is found, *Gildardi Vita*, in *Analecta Bollandiae*, Bruxelles, Vol. VIII (1889), pp. 393-402.

**D209.**—*Dagorne*: a scribal error for *d'Ardaine* (D206).

**B173—D212.**—*Dynart*: com. of Saint-Enogat (Ille-et-Vilaine), 4 km. from St. Malo.

**D213.**—*moult* for *maint* (B174).

**D224.**—*santismes*; *a+i* element = *a*. Goerlich, *op. cit.*, p. 21, quotes similar instances from Anjou, in which he sees only the learned influence. As for the use of the plural form, see K. Tolle, *Das Betheuern u. Beschwören in d. altröm. Poesie*, Erlangen, 1883, pp. 28-29.



**D228—B189.**—*lu, luy*: the *luy* of B is equivalent to *lu* of D despite the spelling.

**D232.**—*oultrege*: is the MS reading. But cf. 296, 301.

**D238—B199.**—*le duc debonaire*, i.e., Charles de Blois.

**D239—B200.**—*la franche duchesse*, i.e., Jeanne de Penthièvre, daughter of Gui de Bretagne.

**D248—B209.**—*livres*: Ainsworth, *Beniley's Miscellany*, V, 446, refers to these as an illustration of illiteracy on Brambro's part and suggests that they are probably mystical characters (!). These are the prophecies ascribed to Merlin and inserted by Geoffrey of Monmouth in the *Historia Regum Brit.* (cf. A. de la Borderie, *Les véritables prophéties de Merlin; examen des poèmes bretons attribués à ce barde*, Paris, 1883; rev. by G. Paris, *Romania*, XII, 375–76 who doubts the authenticity of those which Borderie accepts). The first redaction was of 1135. Geoffrey's work was continued by different persons at various times and enjoyed great popularity, particularly in the fourteenth century. Cf. Ward, *Cat. of Rom. in Brit. Mus.*, I (1883), pp. 278–344. A Cambridge MS mentioned by P. Meyer (*Ro.*, XV, 295) is ascribed to the time of Edward III, and relates to the times of Henry III and his successors. It begins, "Ici comence alcune des les propheties des merveilles de Merlin, dit en soun temps de Engleterre, etc." On Merlin and his alleged prophecies cf. also Brugger, *ZfzSL*, XXX, 210; W. E. Mead, *Merlin*, 2 vols., E.E.T.S., London, 1899, pp. xlv.–xlix.; Lucy A. Paton, *PMLA*, XXII, 234–76; Fletcher, *Arthurian Material in the Chronicles*, *Harvard Studies*, X. Mentions in contemporary literature are frequent (cf. E. Deschamps, *Oeuvres*, ed. Soc. Anc. Textes, I, 106, 20; II, 33, 222; VI, 185; XIII, xiii.; also Cuvelier, *Bertrand du Guesclin*, ed. Charrière, ll. 3286–87, 3427, 6772, 10089).

**D254.**—*n'auront ung pié d'avis*; **B215.**—*pié n'y en demourra vis*. The second hemistich in both MSS is evidently corrupted and presents difficulty which I am not able to solve with certainty. I am unfamiliar with an idiom *pié d'avis* and can find no parallel for it. *Avis*, meaning "opinion," etc., is regularly spelled *advis* by the scribe of D (cf. 260, 274). The scribe of B was not familiar with the expression since he altered it to give the meaning "not a man will remain alive," in which *pié* = "man," a figurative sense that is found in Froissart (cf. *onques piés n'en escapa*, *Oeuvres*, ed. K. de Lettenhove, IV, 306; *jamais piés n'en retournera*, *ibid.*, V, 46; XI, 160). *Ne . . . pié* exists as a negative construction (cf. *Godefroy*), though apparently not with *ung* as in D. A possible solution is to read *de vis* for *d'avis*. The sense of Brambro's speech would then be "have not a chance of living" (i.e., being conquered, their lives would be forfeited unless Edward saw fit to put them to ransom. The meaning then agrees with B. Cf. also *Gardez seignurs, que il n'en algent vif*, Roland, 2061).

**B228.**—*Des c'on flejist (em) bataille*; MS *desconfist*. The line is lacking in D possibly because it was already corrupt and the scribe omitted it for that reason. Brambro could hardly call Beaumanoir "discomfited in battle" before any battle had been fought. The emendation gives the sense "as soon as a battle was to be fought, you did not come at all to the scratch," an effective taunt. For the idiom, *faire bataille*, cf. *Rol.* 3336; *flejist* is monosyllabic, as similarly in the *Livre*. cf. Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

**D271—B233.**—*Le roy de Saint Denis*, i.e., the king of France, so styled by the English who maintained Edward III's title to the throne (cf. La Borderie, *op. cit.*, III, 519, n. 2). Still, this title was also used by the French themselves, as Bertrand's speech shows (cf. Cuvelier, *Bert. du Guesclin*, I, 238; II, 285).

**D275.**—*liée*: should possibly be replaced by *membre* as in B237; yet *liée* may also be kept as the expression was one used in Francian and may be used either with or without reduction. *Liée* is regular in the west, though the *Livre* has both *lie* and *liée* in rime and so also *aillie* (cf. D357, B332) which Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 40, explains as due to the fact that it is used in common expression. Otherwise the reduction of *lée* to *ie* is not found either in the *Bataille* or in the *Livre*.

**D279.**—*digés*: an odd form. Dottin et Langouet, *Gloss. du Parler de Pléchédel* (Canton de Bain, Ille-et-Vilaine), Rennes et Paris, 1901, give the modern pronunciation as *dizié*. Guill. de St. Andre, *Livre* 1302 has *dizé*.

**B246.**—*de chi la mer salée*, i.e., in France. Charruel is the best warrior of the Breton party ("on this side the salt sea"), as distinguished from the English.

**D286.**—*Anorée*; **B249.**—*Homourée*. Chevalier, *op. cit.*, lists three saints Honorata: (1) the patroness of Bar-sur-Aube (fifth century); (2) martyred at Carthage, February 11, 304; (3) of Pavia, d. January 11, 500. Apparently none of these have any significance to western France. It is quite possible that there may be a confusion here with St. Henore, or Anora as La Borderie calls her, who is famous in Brittany. She was the wife of an Irish prince who came to Brittany in the early part of the sixth century and who is known as St. Efflam. Their shrine is at Plestin (Côtes-du-Nord). Chevalier quotes a work upon her, viz., Miorce de Kerdanet, *Notice sur S<sup>t</sup>. Honore de Lesneven*, Brest, 1853. For the romantic story of Efflam and Anora, see La Borderie, *op. cit.*, I, 361-62, and the *Vita S. Enflami*, in *Annales de Bretagne*, VII, 289.

**D294.**—*Voyez que dist Charruel*: meter correct if Charruel is dissyllabic, though regularly trissyllabic elsewhere in the poem (cf. 144, 283, 324, 403). B257 has the line metrically correct but *Voyez là* does not go well with the sense of the following lines. D probably represents the correct reading despite the metrical value of Charruel. Reductions of *U+I* to *U* are common in the N.W. dialects to the present day. Goerlich, *op. cit.*, p. 57, gives illustrations from Anjou and Maine. They are frequent also as attested by rime in the *Livre* (cf. Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 43).

**D296.**—*de*: required by the sense. The *et* of the MS is probably a scribal error due to the *et* of the preceding line.

**D300.**—*gientz*. Goerlich, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29, calls attention to the readiness of *E* to become *IE* after *g* in the departments of Morbihan, Loire-Inférieure, and Côtes-du-Nord (no examples in Ille-et-Vilaine). A similar *i* appears after *c* in Anjou, Maine, and Berry.

**B267-68.**—*mie*: the repetition of the rime *mie* suggests an interpolation. The sense does not require these lines and they are wanting in D.

**B275b.**—Is hypermetric; cf. D313.

**D321.**—*non*: < (NECUN) — "pas un." Godefroy quotes similar examples. *feble* (< FLEBILE), *feible*, not *foible*, as would be expected. Norman and Western French, cf. Schwan-Behrens, no. 225A. The *l* of B287 is learned.

**B295.**—*piis* (PEJUS); monosyllabic. Cf. *pies*, *Rom. de Rou*, ed. Andresen 6937, 7289, and *peiz*, *Greg. pap. Hom.* ed. Hoffman, p. 123. Cf. *Aliis*, *Charte of Ille-et-Vilaine* of 1294, Schwan-Behrens, p. 287.

**D308-10—B271-72.**—The names of some of the most important Breton families of the period and representative of the whole duchy. Save *Quintin*, the names occur frequently in Cuvelier and in the *Livre*. In the latter (ll. 427-28) Laval, Montfort, and Rohan occur together as leaders of the nobility. Gui X de Laval, Lohéac, Rohan, Tournemine, and Quintin are mentioned by Froissart among those who failed to join the banner of Montfort; Gui de Laval, Geoffroy de Tournemine and Jean de Quintin perished in the battle of La Roche Derrien in 1347 (cf. Froissart, ed. K. de Lettenhove, III, 327, 371). There are two Rohans in Brittany (1) of Finistère; (2) of Morbihan, of which the latter is undoubtedly meant. It is one of the oldest houses in France and was made a vicomté in 1100. *Rochan* (D309) is unusual and is possibly due to Rochefort (D308); only *Rohan*, *Rohen*, and *Roën* are found in Cuvelier and the *Livre*. The author of the *Bataille* is evidently suggesting a contrast between the noble families of Beaumanoir's party (and the loyalty of the great Breton families as well) and the crowd of *routiers* whom Brambro presents.

**D331.**—*paour*: as monosyllable, is found frequently in western texts (cf. *Livre*, 251, 821, 1220, etc., quoted by Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 14).

**B297.**—(con)fodu: the scribe wrote *feru* before *confodu* and later crossed it out; *feru* would have given a hemistich metrically correct but is impossible as it is the rime word in the next line.

**D337.**—*Et percié mainte lance: rompu for percié* as in B306 (?).

**B311-317.**—this *laisse*, missing in D, is important, as it contains the account of the rest and refreshment that the combatants took. It is not a later interpolation, for Jehan le Bel refers to the incident. It possibly existed in the MS from which the Didot scribe copied. *Laisses* XXVII and XXVIII of B begin in similar style, *Forte fu la bataille* and *Grande fu la bataille*. The scribe was probably misled by the similarity and proceeded with the following *laisse* without noting the omission. De Courey, in his account of the battle (*op. cit.*, p. 11), on the authority of Jehan le Bel evidently, speaks of the two parties talking with each other pleasantly—a rather unnatural proceeding which is not borne out by the text of the *Bataille*.

**B330.**—*Et Giuffroy jure Dieu*; MS *Et je jure Dieu*: D gives the correct reading, for Geoffroy would be the one who would naturally take the oath.

**B333.**—The *prise* of 332 is to be understood as governing the line.

**D360.**—Does not occur in B and is probably an interpolation. The author is often hard put for rimes but the use of *mie* three times, almost in succession (359, 360, 362), is without parallel in the poem; moreover, it is in sense merely a repetition of 359.

**D361—B336.**—*amye*: this reminds us of Jehan le Bel's statement that the battle was fought for the sake of the ladies and it may be that this reference is his authority for the assertion. Brambro is probably referring to Jeanne de Flandres, countess of Montfort.

**D365—B340.**—*tendrons, entendon*: Beaumanoir is referring to the battle; the sense of D is preferable.

**D369—B344.**—*sur toy sera hazard*. *Hazard* was a technical throw of the dice and was generally considered a good one. See F. Semran, "Würfel u. Würfelspiel im alten Frankreich," in *ZrP*, Beih. 23 (1910).

**D372—B347.**—Apparently the scribe of D did not understand the passage. In B, Buchon and Crapelet both read *à avoir*; *amoïr* makes much the better sense (i.e., a verbal formation from *mutus*), "to make dumb" or "silence." Cf. Péan Gatineau, *Vie de St. Martin*, ll. 6655, 10167. L. 1572 has *amoï* in the sense of "made weak" (Lat. orig. *labefacti*); cf. T. Söderhjelm, *Die Sprache in dem afz. Martinsleben des Péan Gatineau aus Tours*, Helsingfors, 1906.

**B352.**—Is unnecessary; an interpolation (?).

**D382.**—à [la] terre estandu: MS reads without *la* which gives a case of hiatus. This sort of hiatus is found in the *Bataille*, but cf. B358.

**D387.**—*biën*: with diaeresis the hemistich is correct. This diaeresis of *ie* is found frequently in the *Livre*, e.g., *biëns*, 493; *tiën*, 309, etc. (cf. Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 13). We might possibly read *Or pensés*, etc.

**B359.**—*le(z) Bouez*: should read *le bon* (?). Cf. D383.

**B360.**—*De cestu es (tu) vengié*: we might read *De cest(u) es tu vengié* as in D385. But *cestu* is attested by rime (B363).

**B365.**—*fiertés*: the scribe wrote *fertés*, later inserting an *i* between *e* and *r*. *Fiertés* is his regular form (cf. 44, 51, 461).

**B371b.**—Cf. B100.

**B378.**—*blechiers*: Buchon alters to *blechiés* but Crapelet follows MS.

**B387a.**—*Après y demoura*; D reads differently. For *y* cf. *Belifort y fu*, l. 388.

**D428—B402.**—*mourir*: in the transitive sense; Beaumanoir is the subject.

**B403.**—The line is badly corrupted in the MSS which reads, *Et d'Ardaine da derains, ly conuett soudoiant*. The *da* is evidently an error through which the scribe neglected to draw a line as he does in other cases (cf. l. 297). D'Ardaine came from Rennes (cf. *Introduction*, II); as for *conuett* it may be *convert*, i.e., "turncoat" (?) which accords well with the sense and would be a natural epithet for a supporter of the Blois party to apply to a Breton fighting on the other side.

**B431—440.**—Are omitted from D probably by carelessness. From D452 we infer that mention is about to be made of the oak of Mye-Voie; but instead of continuing, the scribe writes, "*Là fut doné maint coup de hache et de martel*," which is lacking in B.

**B430—431.**—The lines are very disconnected unless *fu* is inserted before *Le chesne*. The Oak of Mye-Voie became famous as the monument of the *Bataille*. It fell of old age at the beginning of the seventeenth century and was replaced by a cross called "*La Croix de la Bataille des Trente*." This cross, fallen in its turn, was raised in 1776 at the expense of the states of Brittany, was destroyed in the Revolution and replaced by an obelisk, raised July 18, 1819, the year of the Fréminville edition. Crapelet (*op. cit.*, pp. 69–110) and De Courcy (*op. cit.*, pp. 15–19) give a long account of the ceremonies on this occasion. An illustration of the monument of 1776 is given by D'Auvergne (cf. *Archeologia*, VI [1782],

p. 144) according to whom it was not a new monument but merely the restoration of an old one. The oak stood on a slight rise of ground and is represented in the frontispiece of De Courcy's work from the original illustration in the MS of Pierre Le Baud.

**B433.**—*moncel*. The *herisson* or *moncel* was the hollow square the English formed to resist attack. It was extremely efficient at Crécy and Poitiers.

**D455.**—*Saint Marcel*: Wetzer-Welte (*op. cit.*, article "Marcellus") quote five saints of this name down to the fourteenth century. It may be St. Marcel, bishop of Paris, d. 436 (day, November 1); cf. Bolland, *Bibl. Hag. Lat.* (1900), p. 779. We have here probably a local trait, for St. Marcel was a little parish (mentioned in the *Dict. des Communes* as *Morbihan*, arr. *Vannes*), united in the fifteenth century to the parish of Bohal (cf. Abbé Luco, *Bull. soc. polymathique de Morbihan* [1876], 1st. Semester, p. 79). B reads *com gentil demoisel* and in B440 (not in D) *St. Michiel* is mentioned.

**D457-458.**—B interverts these lines.

**B440a.**—*For(men)t fu desconfit*: the scribe probably took *fort* as an abbreviation for *forment*.

**B449.**—*feront eulz*: the tonic form for the atonic. Bretagne and Maine show this dialectical peculiarity of *eulz* for conjunctive *ils* (cf. Goerlich, *op. cit.*, p. 71).

**B467.**—*hoirs*|*hoirez*; Buchon, *hoirs*; Crapelet, *hoirez*. *Hoiers* is found as monosyllable in the *Livre*, 2986; as for the form *hoirs* in a Picard MS; cf. the Chartes of Pas-de-Calais of 1292 (Schwan-Behrens, *op. cit.*, p. 250) and of St. Quentin (Aisne) of 1219 (*idem*, p. 256). The meter requires *hoirs* or possibly *hoiers* as in the *Livre*.

**D488-489.**—The gap in D represents the last of B, *laisse* XXXIV, and all of B, viz., 33 lines, equivalent to a page of MS. Apparently the scribe of D (or the scribe of his model) has made the same sort of omission as the B scribe who omitted *laisse* V of D.

**D488.**—*disconfit*: evidently the past participle of a verb *disconfiter* formed from the participle of the regular verb *desconfire*.

**B480.**—*Montjoie*: the old war cry of France, of uncertain origin, though it probably comes from *Mons Gaudii* rather than *Meum Gaudium* (G. Paris, *Romania*, XXXI, 417, note). The case is best summed up by J. Bédier (*Les Légendes Épiques*, Paris, 1908, II, 225-39) in connection with the passages in the *Roland* (3084-96 and 2501-11). *Montjoie* is first mentioned by Orderic Vital in describing a battle of 1119 (Bédier, *op. cit.*, 235, note).

**B483.**—*amornez*; Buchon, *aornés*.

**B484.**—*Dieu croisse* [en] *bontez*: though metrically correct, the sense demands *en*.

**B506-7.**—These characters, taken from the Old French epic, show the purpose of the author of the *Bataille* to imitate the epic style of composition. *Charles le ber*, i.e., Charlemagne; *Guillaume au cornair* is the hero of the Cycle d'Orange. He is called *Guillaume au cort nés* in *Aliscans*; *Guillaume au cornais* in the *Enfances Vivien* (cf. Langlois, *Table des Noms Propres*, art. "Guillaume d'Orange").

**B518.**—*Ce jour leur soit* (en) *aïe*: the rime of the *laisse* proves *aïe* trisyllabic.

## VOCABULARY

(NOTE.—The vocabulary is not a complete list of all the words in the *Bataille*. Words whose form or sense do not differ from modern French are, in general, omitted. The numbers refer to the lines; those numbers which are not preceded by letter refer to the Bigot MS; those with the letter D refer to Didot.)

*achier*, *acier*, v.a., achieve; complete, fulfil. Pp. *achivé* D52 (cf. Reis, *op. cit.*, §28).

*accordance*, s.f., accord; agreement. D125, *avons accordance*, we are agreed.

*anchesourie*, *asesourie*, s.f., ancienne et noble race; ancestry.

*aconcheu*, v. *aconsuivre*.

*aconsuivre*, v.a., atteindre; strike. Pp. *aconcheu* 357.

*actendre*, v.a., attendre; await. *actendron* D259. Pp. *actendu* D379.

*admeine*, v. *amener*.

*adonques*, adv., alors; then.

*ajournement*, *ajournement*, s.m., jour fixe; set day.

*avis*, v. *avis*.

*act*, v. *avoir*.

*affoler*, v.a., blesser; maim.

*agraventer*, v.a., abattre, écraser; beat down, crush. Norman and Picard patois have *craventer* today in this sense (*Godefroy*).

*aie*, *aye*, s.f., aide; succor.

*aillie* (*aillée*), s.f., ail; garlic.

*ains*, prep., avant; before.

*ainsin*, adv., ainsi; so.

*aïst*, v. *ayder*.

*aloser*, v.a., couvrir de gloire; glorify. Pp. *aloseé*, estimé; esteemed.

*ambler*, v. *emblem*.

*amener*, v.a., amener; bring along. Pres. ind. 3, *amaine* 207; *ameine* D246; fut. 4, *amerron* 216.

*amme*, s.f., âme; soul D20; *arme* 20.

*amoïr*, v.a., silencer; silence.

*amornez*, adj., morne, sombre; gloomy, forbidding. (From *amorner* = *se mortifier*.—*Godefroy*.)

*ampres*, *apres*, prep. and adv., après; after.

*amouré*, adj., affilé, aiguisée; pointed, sharpened. The *Dict. Général* distinguishes this word from the present nautical term, "Coin d'une basse voile fixé du côté d'où vient le vent."

*an*, *en*, *on*, pron., on; one. The indefinite pronoun *on* regularly appears as *l'en* or *l'an* in the N.W. dialects (cf. Goerlich, *op. cit.*, p. 75). In the unemphatic position following the verb we find *on* (cf. D77).

*araisonner*, *araisonner*, v.a., adresser la parole; harangue.

*aré*, *cré*, s.m., terre labourée; fields. Still today in Anjou, "*on prononce la rée*" (Ch. Menière, *Glossaire étym. et compar. du Patois, angevin, Angers*, 1881, p. 36).

*arrestezon* (for *arrestison* or *arrestoison*), s.f., arrêt; delay. (For the form of the suffix, cf. Nyrop, *Gram. Hist.*, III, §281.)

*asesourie*, v. *anchesourie*.

- ataindre*, v.a., *atteindre*; strike. Pres. ind. 3, *ataint*.  
*atargier*, v.n., *tarder*; delay.  
*au jour d'é*, adv., *aujourd'hui*; today (210, D249). Cf. Introduction, V, i, 6.  
*auzi*, adv., *aussi*; also.  
*avis*, *advis*, s.m., *avis*; opinion; *avis* D254(?).  
*avoir*, v.a., *avoir*; have. Ind. fut. 1, *auroy* D152; 3, *ara* 198, *aura* 237; 6, *aront* 319; pret. 3, *oust* D34, *ot* D33, *eust* D37; 3, *urent* 312, *ourent* 180; subj. pres. 3, *aet* D461, *ait* D288; 6, *aient* 52, *ayent* 51.  
*avoueltre*, adj., *illégitime*; *illegitimate* D95. It is also possible that the author uses this word in the sense of *étranger*, *méchant*, *perversi*, which is its figurative value; cf. "E cumenzet a cultiver deus avuiltres e aürer," *Livre des Rois*, ed. Leroux de Lincy, p. 268, which is a translation of the Latin, "colueritis deos alienos."  
*ayder*, *aider*, v.a., *aider*; ind. pres. 3, *aïst* 77.  
*bacheler*, *bachelier*, s.m., *jeune homme ou chevalier*; young man or knight.  
*bacinet*, *bacynet*, s.m., *casque de fer très léger*; light helmet.  
*baffier*, s.m., *moqueur*; taunter.  
*baneret*, *bannerois*, adj., *ayant le droit de porter une banière*; banneret.  
*barast* (for *barat*), s.m., *tromperie, fraude*; deception, fraud.  
*barnaige*, *bernage*, s.m., *assemblée de barons*; baronage.  
*bault*, adj., *joyeux*; happy.  
*bayer*, *bêr*, v.n., *bayer*; gape (*bêr* is the Picard form.—*Godefroy*).  
*belement*, *bellement*, adv., *gentiment*; nobly.  
*beneichon*, *beneisson*, s.f., *bénédiction*; blessing.  
*ber*, s.m., *baron*; baron.  
*bernage*, v. *barnaige*.  
*besoigner*, *besoignier*, v.n., *travailler*; take care.  
*besser*, v.a., *diminuer*; decrease.  
*beuff*, *bouef*, s.m., *boeuf*; ox.  
*biau*, adj., *beau*; fine, beautiful.  
*blechié*, *blecié*, pp. of *blechier* (*blecier*), v.a., *blesser*; wound.  
*boire*, v.a., *boire*; drink. Pp. *beū*.  
*boudie*, v. *boydie*.  
*bouef*, v. *beuff*.  
*bouter*, v. refl., *se jeter*; cast oneself.  
*boydie*, *boudie*, s.f., *méchanceté, perfidie*; malice, perfidy.  
*branc*, s.m., *épée*; sword.  
*bu*, s.m., *tronc du corps*; trunk (of the body).  
*caucher*, v.a., *chausser*; to fasten on the feet.  
*cel*, dem. pron., obl. case, *celuy*; as adj. D19.  
*celé*, s.m. (for *lieu celé*); *en celé*—*en cachette*; in a dungeon.  
*cenel*, s.m., *canal*; little stream.  
*centence*, v. *sentence*.  
*certen*, *certein*, *certain*, adj., *certain*, D24, 88, D253.  
*certeinement*, adv., *surement*; certainly. (The groups *ai* and *ei* had the value *e* by the middle of the thirteenth century in the N.W.; cf. Goerlich, *op. cit.*, p. 17.)  
*cest*, pron. and adj., *ce, celui*; this, this one. Obl. masc. sg. *cest*, *cestu*, *cestuy*, *cetuy*.



*chaillege*, v. *challenger*.

*chaindre*, v.a., ceindre; gird on.

*chair*, v. *cheoir*.

*challenger*, *chalonger*, *chailleger*, v.a., challenger; challenge, defy. (The form with *ai* is unusual; cf. Schwan-Behrens, §87 (2) A.)

*chapple*, s.m., carnage, mêlée; slaughter, fight.

*chenel*, s.m., petit chêne; small oak.

*cheoir*, v.n., tomber; fall. Pret. 3, *chay* 358, *chet* D382; pp. *cheu* 354, *chet* D390.

*chere*, v. *chiere*.

*chesp*, *sep*, s.m., "morceau de bois emboitant les pieds des prisonniers"; stocks. (Cf. Deschamps, *Oeuvres*, ed. Soc. Anc. Textes (1891), X, p. 20, and also G. Paris, *Romania*, XXX, 386.)

*chetif*, *chetiff*, adj. as subst., prisonnier; prisoner.

*chi*, v. *cy*.

*chief*, s.m., tête; head. à *chief de*, etc. (223, D262) = au bout de; at the end of.

*chiere*, *chere*, s.f., visage, mine; face, countenance.

*clarjon*, v. *clergon*.

*cler*, adj., clair; bright.

*clergon*, *clarjon*, s.m., petit clerc; little clerk.

*colée*, *collée*, s.f., coup; blow. (Still current today in Anjou, cf. Menière, *op. cit.*, p. 111.)

*comparer*, *comperer*, v.a., payer cher, expier; pay dear for, expiate (cf. Goerlich, *op. cit.*, p. 23).

*compter*, v.a., raconter; relate.

*congneü*, pp. of *congnostre*, v.a., connaître; be acquainted with, know.

*convenir*, *couvenir*, v.n., convenir; to be fitting or necessary.

*coul*, s.m., cou; neck.

*courant*, adj. from *courir*: courant; fleet.

*courage*, s.m., intention; purpose.

*courroucier*, *courroucier*, v.a., courroucer; to anger or become angry.

*cousté*, *costé*, s.m., côte; side.

*couvenir*, v. *convenir*.

*couz*, pl. of *coup* 101.

*croistre*, v.a., augmenter; increase.

*cuidier*, v.a., penser, croire; think, believe.

*cuydance*, s.f., opinion mal fondée; unfounded belief.

*cy*, *chi*, adv., ici; here.

*dam*, *dom*, s.m., seigneur; master (in contemptuous sense). In works of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries *danz* added to the insult (cf. Stowell, *Titles of respect in Old French*, Baltimore, 1908, p. 111).

*dard*, s.m., dard; dart. "Cette arme était montée sur un manche de bois de 6 à 7 pieds de long" (Crapelet). Cf. also Keller, *Anglo-Saxon Weapon Names*, Heidelberg, 1905, p. 132.

*davancier*, s.m., devancier; front.

*dé*, *detz*, s.m., dé; dice, 343, D368.

*dechi*, adv., de ce côté; on this side.

*decza*, adv., de ce côté-là; on that side.

*deffaillance*, s.f., faute; failure.

*defaloir*, v.n., manquer; be wanting (cf. *deffaillir*; see Meyer-Lübke, *Hist. Gram.*, §321).

*deffier*, v.a., déclarer la guerre, défier; declare war, defy.

*definer*, v.n., prendre fin, terminer; come to an end, die.

*demoisel* (for *damoisele*), s.m., jeune gentilhomme; young noble.

*demourance*, s.f., hésitation; reluctance.

*demourer*, v.n., rester, rester au lieu de; remain, be in the place of.

*departir*, v.a., séparer; disperse.

*deprier*, v.a., prier avec instance; pray fervently. (Still used in Anjou; cf.

Menière, *op. cit.*, p. 134.)

*desconfort*, s.m., découragement; discouragement.

*desesperance*, s.f., désespoir; despair.

*desverie*, s.f., folie, action mauvaise; madness, evil action.

*detz*, v. *dé*.

*deul*, v. *deuil*.

*devés* (pp. of *desver*), adj., fou; mad. (Menière, *op. cit.*, p. 156, quotes *endevé*, perdre le calme ordinaire.)

*devier*, v.n., mourir; die.

*devis*, s.m., plaisir; pleasure.

*devision*, s.f., division; selection. (For the various significations of this word see Berger, *Die Lehnwörter in d. frz. Spr. ältester Zeit.*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 100.)

*devoir*, v.a., devoir; ought, owe. Pres. ind. 3, *doibt* 488; imperfect ind. 6, *devoient* D226; fut. 3, *devera* D162.

*dient*, *diēs*, *digēs*, v. *dire*.

*dimence*, *dimenche*, s.m., dimanche; Sunday.

*dire*, v.a., dire; say. Pres. ind. 6, *dient* 66; pres. subj. 5, *diēs* 241; *digēs* D279.

*dit*, *diz*, s.m., parole, petit poème; word, short poem.

*doeul*, v. *deuil*.

*doibt*, v. *devoir*.

*doint*, v. *doner*.

*dolent*, adj., triste, misérable; sad, unhappy.

*dom*, v. *dam*.

*domage*, *doumaige*, s.m., dommage; harm.

*doner*, v.a., donner; give. Pres. subj. 3, *doint* D166, *dont* 125.

*dormir*, v.n., dormir; sleep. With *gesir* in the sense of *pâmer*, *s'évanouir*; swoon, faint; sometimes alone in the same sense; (cf. "L'autre sauvage qui avoit cependant *dormy* au coup, etc.," quoted by Godefroy).

*doumaige*, v. *domage*.

*droitturier*, adj., droit, juste; just.

*deuil*, *doeul*, *deul*, s.m., douleur, deuil; grief, mourning.

*durée*, s.f., résistance; staying-power. Cf. "Li noble n'auroient point de durée à euls" (Froissart, ed. K. de Lettenhove, II, 17).

*efforcer*, v.a., se renforcer; reinforce.

*effroier*, v. refl., avoir peur; become afraid.

*election*, s.f., choix; choice.

*em*, prep. and pron. (for *en*).

*embler*, *ambler*, v.a., prendre, dérober; take, ravage. (According to Godefroy, the word is still used in Normandy.)

- emprise*, s.f., esprit entreprenant (Bartsch), violence (Godefroy); rashness.  
*enchoisir*, v.a., élire; select.  
*encontre*, s.f., rencontre, combat; meeting, combat.  
*engignant*, *engignant*, part. of *engnien*, *engnien*, v.a., tromper; deceive.  
*enmener*, v.a., emmener; lead away. Fut. 6, *enmerront*.  
*ensuivant*, part. of *ensuire*, v.a., *ensuivant*, suivant; following.  
*ent*, adv., dans cette affaire; in this business.  
*entencion*, s.f., intention, sens; purpose, idea.  
*entente*, s.f., avis, pensée; opinion, thought.  
*entiers*, adj., entier, loyal, irréprochable; loyal, faultless.  
*entreprinse*, s.f., entreprise, conquête; undertaking, conquest.  
*envier*, v.a., désirer, chercher; desire, seek.  
*encombrier*, s.m., malheur; ill fortune.  
*éré*, v. aré.  
*ès*: contraction for *en les*.  
*esbahy*, pp. of *esbahir*, v.a., troubler, désoler; trouble, terrify.  
*escremie*, s.f., escrime; skirmish.  
*esmoulu*, pp. of *esmoudre*, v.a., aiguiser; sharpen.  
*esparpillier*, v.a., disperser; scatter.  
*essoies*, imperative of *essoir* for *essaiier*, v.a., tâter, éprouver; strive, struggle.  
 Cf. *effroier* for *effraier* 393.  
*(estendre)*, v.a., étendre; extend. Pret. 3, *estendy* 354.  
*ester*, v.n., se tenir, être debout; to remain, remain standing.  
*estor*, *estour*, s.m., assaut, combat; attack, combat.  
*estoutie*, s.f., présomption, témérité; impertinence, daring (from Ger. *stolz*;  
 Flemish, *stout*, cf. Froissart, ed. K. de Lettenhove, XIX, 200).  
*estre*, v.n., être.  
*esturmie*, s.f., alarme, tumulte; alarm, tumult.  
*esvertuer*, *evrter*, v.a., s'évertuer; strive one's best.  
*eure*, *oeuvre*, s.f., heure; hour.—*de complice*, hour of *completorium* (cf. Wetzer-  
 Welte, *op. cit.*, article: "Completorium").  
*exoine*, s.f., excuse legale; legal excuse.  
*expleter*, *exploitier*, v.n., agir vite, se hâter; act quickly, hasten.  
*Faescon*, s.f., façon, manière; way, manner. (This *ae* is a Breton characteristic;  
 checked, pretonic *a* with attracted *i*; cf. Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 18.)  
*faesmes*, v. *faire*.  
*faillance*, s.f., faute; failure.  
*failli* (pp. of *faillir*), s.m., faux, traître; traitor, renegade.  
*faindre*, v.a., feindre; feign; as refl., hésiter; hesitate. Imper. 2, *faing* 343,  
 D368.  
*faire*, v.a., faire; make, do. Fut. 1, *feré* 105; imperative 1, *faesmes* D68 (cf.  
 Schwan-Behrens, §139, 2, A1).  
*fauchart*, *fauchon*, *fussart*, s.m., coutelas; broadsword.  
*fauldré*, fut. 1 of *faillir*, v.a., abandonner; forsake.  
*feble*, *flebe*, adj., faible; feeble, weak.  
*felon*, s.m. (obl. case of adj. *fel*), traître, scélérat; rascal, villain.  
*feré*, v. *faire*.  
*ferré*, pp. of *ferrer*, v.a., enchaîner; put in irons.

- festu*, s.m., fêtu; bundle of straw. (For the form of this word, cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Zt. f. öst. Gym.* [1891], p. 770.)
- fiancier*, v.a., certifier; pledge. Pres. ind. 1, *fiant* 72.
- fiercé*, s.f., fierté, hardiment, violence; pride, daring, violence.
- flaiel*, *flayeu*, s.m., fléau; flail.
- febe*, v. *feble*.
- flour*, s.f., fleur; flower. (*ou* from *o* free is regular for all western dialects; *o* is the regular orthography up to ca. end of the thirteenth century, *ou* from then on; *eu* from Francian appears late in the fourteenth century, cf. Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Goerlich, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53.)
- forment*, adv., fortement, beaucoup; powerfully, much.
- fort*, adj., fort; strong. *Je m'en fais fort*—"je me porte garant," cf. *Farce de Pathelin*; Bartsch, *Chrest.* 96, 128. Godefroy also presents similar idioms, e.g., *se rendre fort*, *se porter fort*.
- fourni* (pp. of *fournir*) as adj., fort, grand; strong, great.
- fuir*, v.a., and n., fuir; flee. Fut. 6, *fouyront* D313.
- Gaieres*, *guaires*, adv., guère; scarcely.
- genestay*, s.m., lieu planté de genêts; field covered with broom.
- gesir*, v.n., être couché; lie. Ind. pres. 3, *giest* 360; *gist* 371, D396.
- geter*, v.a., jeter; throw. Imperative 2, *gette* D368; *giete* 343.
- gient*, s.f., gent; people.
- glout*, *glouton*, s.m., glouton, brigand; glutton, brigand.
- goberge*, *gouberge*, s.f., forfanterie, moquerie; boast, insult. In the form *gabegie* = ruse, tromperie, this word is still in use in the west. Cf. *Vocabulaire du Berry et des Provinces voisines, recueillie par un amateur du vieux langage*, Paris, 1838 and L. Favre, *Glossaire du Poitou*, Niort, 1868. "On prononce *gabgie*" (L. Favre).
- goule*, s.f., gueule; throat, jaws.
- gracier*, v.a., remercier; thank.
- grandement*, adv., grandement, beaucoup; greatly, much.
- gresillons*, s.m., lit. "grillons." "Attache de fer primitivement en forme de gril, que l'on mettait aux mains des criminels" (Godefroy). Cf. Cuvellier, *B. du Guesclin*, l. 13791. "gresillon = grillon," Orain, "Patois d'Ille-et-Vilaine," in *Rev. Linguistique*, XVII, Paris, 1884.
- guaires*, v. *gaieres*.
- guerroier*, *guerroyer*, v.a., faire la guerre à; make war on.
- Haïr*, v.n., haïr; hate. Fut. 6, *haerront* 201; *hayeront* D240. The stem of the fut. and cond. of *haïr* was regularly monosyllabic.
- hasterel*, s.m., nuque du cou; back of the neck.
- haubergon*, *hauberjon*, s.m., petit hauberk; small hauberk. "Cotte de mailles qui couvrait la poitrine jusqu'au défaut des côtes et descendait jusqu'aux genoux; les nobles et les chevaliers avaient seuls le droit de les porter" (Crapelet).
- hoir*, s.m., héritier; heir.
- hazart*, s.m., hasard; luck.
- Image*, *ymaige*, s.f., image; image.
- jouël*, s.m., petit jeu; little game. La Borderie, *op. cit.*, p. 526, n. 7. La Borderie's explanation is questionable; from *lez* 438, we may conclude

- that the *martel* is no longer the subject referred to. For *jouël* in the sense we indicate, cf. Godefroy, who quotes a long passage from Froissart.
- journée*, s.f., journée; day. *Prendre journée* = préférer un jour; allot a day; cf. Froissart, ed. K. de Lettenhove, VIII, 210, where the term is similarly used.
- jouvencel*, *jovencel*, s.m., jouvenceau; youth.
- Labourer*, v.a., cultiver; cultivate.
- letare Jherusalem*, i.e., the fourth Sunday of Lent, cf. Wetzer-Welte, s.v.
- lié*, adj., gai, joyeux; gay, happy.
- losengier*, s.m., trompeur, calomniateur; deceiver, falsifyer.
- lourdie*, s.f., bêtise; stupidity.
- lu*, *ly*, pers. pron., obl. case of il (for lui). Cf. Introduction, V, i, 21.
- Maill*, s.m., maillet; mace.
- maindre*, comp. of *moins*, moindre; less.
- maine*, v. mener.
- maistrie*, *mestrie*, s.f., puissance; power.
- mailent*, pres. sub. 6 of *metre*.
- mander*, v.a., demander; ask.
- marry*, adj., affligé; distressed.
- maugré*, *maulgré*, prep., malgré; in spite of.
- mecles*, pres. ind. 5 of *metre*.
- meina*, v. mener.
- membre*, part. adj. from *membre*, v.a., prudent; wise.
- mener*, v.a., mener; lead. Pres. ind. 3, *maine* 42, D40; pret. 3, *meina* D95.
- menestrier*, s.m., minstrel. *Haulz menestriers* (D5) are those who sing of the deeds of heroes as distinguished from the minstrels who treat less dignified themes.
- menu*, adj., menu, petit; small, of lower degree.
- merchier*, v.a., remercier; thank.
- merchier*, s.m., marchand; merchant, tradesman. (The humble origin of at least one of Brambro's party [Knolles, cf. De Courcy, p. 61] is known.)
- meshuy*, adv., désormais; henceforth (cf. *Vocabulaire du Berry*, p. 29.)
- mesprendre*, v.refl., se tromper; deceive oneself.
- mestier*, s.m., service, office; position, office. *Avoir mestier*, 82, D128, avoir besoin de, convenir bon.
- mestrie*, v. *maistrie*.
- moncel*, s.m., amas, tas; closely massed group.
- mot*, s.m., espèce de poème, "petit poème descriptif" (Godefroy supp.).
- musart*, s.m., fou, sot, dupe; fool, dupe.
- my*, adj., demi; half. *en my*, au milieu de; in the midst of.
- Naistre*, v.n., naitre; to be born. Pret. 3, *naquist* D366; *nasqui* 514; *nacquist* D490.
- noiant*, *nyant*, rien; nothing. Cuvelier, *B. du Gues.*, 1353 has *neënt*;\* the *Livre*, *neânt* 1544, 2005, 2092, etc.; *nyant* 2245; *noyant* 3183; in all cases 2 syl. The word is always 2 syl. in Wace and Benoit, cf. Suchier, *Voy. Ton.*, p. 140.
- O*, prep., avec; with. *Apud* regularly gives *o* in N.W. dialects and occasionally *ou* in Berry (cf. Goerlich, *op. cit.*, p. 78). It remains still in the patois of

- Haute-Maine, cf. *Vocabulaire des mots usités dans le Haute-Maine*, C.R. de M., Le Mans, 1889, s.v.
- oblacion, s.f., offrande; vow.
- ochire, v.a., tuer; kill. Fut. 1, *ochiray* 355.
- octrier, v. *otrier*.
- oeure, v. *eure*.
- oïiez, v. *ouïr*.
- ongues, *onquez*, adv., jamais; never.
- ordenance, s.f., disposition, ordre; assignment, order.
- ordination, s.f., ordonnance; order. *Par ordination* 316, en ordre; in order, one after another.
- orguel, *ourgouil*, s.m., orgueil; pride.
- orible, adj., horrible.
- orphanité (variants *orphenté*, *orphanté*), s.f., abandon, douleur; distress.
- orrés, v. *ouïr*.
- orrois, v. *ouïr*.
- otrier, *octrier*, v.a., accorder, permettre; grant, permit.
- ou = el = en le.
- ouïr, *ouyr*, v.a., entendre; hear. Imperative 5, *oïiez* D293; fut. 5, *orrés* D464; *orrois* 256.
- ourgouil*, v. *orguel*.
- Panoncel*, *pennoncel*, s.m., petit enseigne; pennant.
- paour, s.f., peur; fear.
- paouvre, *poivre*, adj., pauvre; poor.
- paramer, *paraymer*, v.a., aimer beaucoup; love greatly.
- pardurable, adj., éternel; eternal.
- pautonnier, s.m., gueux, vagabond, "homme prêt à tout faire" (*Godefroy*); rogue, vagabond.
- peuer, v.a., tourmenter; torture.
- pennoncel*, v. *panoncel*.
- per, adj., and s., égal; equal.
- pesant, adj., lourd; heavy.
- petticion, s.f., petition; petition.
- pié, s.m., pied; foot. *Ne . . . pié* 63, 215 D64 = ne . . . pas, ne . . . personne; not, none.
- piis*, adv., pis; worse. *Le piis*; le pire; the worse. Cf. note to B295.
- plenier*, adj., entier, grand; full, great.
- planté*, s.f., abundance; plenty.
- plates*, s.f.—"Gantelets de lames de fer" (*Crapelet*); "plaques de metal flexibles recouvrant le corps" (*Deschamps, Oeuvres*, V, 99).
- poesté*, *posté*, s.f., pouvoir, puissance; force, power.
- pourroy*, fut. 1 of *pouvoir*.
- poursembler*, v.n., ressembler à; resemble.
- pouweté*, *povreté*, s.f., privation; privation.
- poivre*, v. *paouvre*.
- prendre*, v.a., prendre; take. Pret. 6, *prinrent* 191; *prindrent* D143; cond. 1, *prandroie* D281; *prendroye* 243; pp., *prins* D221.
- present*, s.m., cadeau, don; gift 336.

*present*, adj., à *present* 134, D35, en *presence*, assistant; en *present* 238, D276, D375, *present*.

*prinrent*, v. *prendre*.

*prins*, v. *prendre*.

*proudoms*, s.m., prud'homme; noble and distinguished man.

*Quer*, conj., car; for.

*querre*, v.a., chercher; seek. Pres. ind. I, *quier* D94.

*Radement*, adv., fortement; vigorously, 309. With this word must be considered *roidement*, the reading of D; *radement*=rapida+mente: *roidement*=rigida+mente. However, we may have to do here with the same word.

*ranchon*, *ransczon*, s.f., rachat, rançon; ransom.

*repreuchier*, *reproucher*, v.a., reprocher; reproach.

*requerre*, v.a., demander qqch. à qqn.; ask somebody for something. Pres. ind.

1, *requier* 195; *requiers* D234; 3, *requiert* 324; pret. 3, *requist* D349.

*roiaulme*, s.m., royaume; kingdom.

*roidement*, adv., fortement; vigorously (cf. *radement*).

*romants*, *roumant*, s.m., histoire; tale.

*rosoyer*, v.a., tomber comme la rosée; fall like dew.

*roumander*, v.n., écrire ou parler en français; compose in the vernacular. (I have not been able to find this word elsewhere.) The sense seems plain.

*roumant*, v. *romants*.

*Sabmedy*, *semmedy*, s.m., samedi; Saturday.

*saichés*, *saichiés*, v. *savoir*.

*saintismes*, *santismes*, adj., in superlative, très saint; most holy.

*sapience*, s.f., sagesse; wisdom.

*savoir*, v.a., savoir; know. Pres. ind. 1, *sçay* D188; 3, *soit* 506; 5, *saichés* D392;

*saichiés* 367; pret. 3, *sust* 153.

*seigneur*, s.m., seigneur; lord.

*seigneurie*, s.f., puissance, domaine; signory, domain.

*seignour*, v. *seigneur*.

*semmedy*, v. *sabmedy*.

*sené*, adj., sensé; wise.

*sentence*, *centence*, s.f., sentence, judgment; opinion, judgment.

*sep*, v. *chesp*.

*serementier*, v.a., "prendre la parole aux prisonniers" (Crapelet); parole.

*seurté*, s.f., sureté; surety.

*sezante*, *soizante*, adj., soixante; sixty. (Cf. *Livre*, 659, also *saizante* 2488 where *ai*=*e*.)

*sextier*, s.m., sétier.

*siecle*, s.m., monde, vie; world, life.

*siement*, from *semer*, v.a., semer; sow. Pres. ind. 6.

*soeff*, s.f., soif; thirst. (*oe*=*oi* is also in the *Livre*, e.g., *Genevoez*: *François* 2111-2112).

*soit*, v. *savoir*.

*soudoiant*, s.m., traître; traitor.

*soudoier*, *souldoyer*, s.m., homme soldé; hireling.

*sourenvier*, v.a., "j'enchérirai sur toi, je te previendrai" (Crapelet). *sur* gives

- intensive force, e.g., *surmener*. Cf. also *surabonder*, *surembrasser*, *surembêté* of Flaubert quoted by Nyrop, *op. cit.*, III, 498.
- soutiff*, adj., fin; shrewd. The form *soutif* is common in Deschamps, cf. *Oeuvres*, ed. SATF., X, 118. Note also *Rom. de Thèbes*, ed. SATF., p. xci.
- sust*, v. *savoir*.
- Tailler*, v.a., couper; cut.
- tappichier*, v.a., for *tappissier*. Pp. as substantive, *tappichiez* 502. This is the Picard form of *tappischier*, cf. MSS St. Omer, 1499, quoted by Godefroy.
- targier*, v.n., and refl., tarder; delay.
- targison*, s.f., sans tarder; without delay. (Cf. note to *arrestezon*.)
- tart*, adj., tard; late. *avoir tart* 147, D188, *avoir besoin*.
- tiel*, adj., tel; such (D447, cf. Reis, *op. cit.*, p. 19).
- trebucher*, *trebuschier*, v.a., renverser, culbuter; overthrow.
- tressuër*, v.n., être couvert de sueur; be covered with sweat.
- treuvent*, pres. ind. 6 of *trouver*.
- trichierre*, s.m., traltre; traitor.
- tunicles*, s.f., cotte d'armes. "Sorte de biaux à l'usage des hommes seulement" (Godefroy). Cf. Cuvelier, *B. du Gues.*, l. 21570.
- Vantance*, s.f., vantardise; boasting.
- veillart*, *vilart*, s.m., 163, D201, *paysan* (?); cf. La Borderie, *op. cit.*, p. 518.
- veoir*, v.a., voir, see. pp. *veü* 352.
- veulent*, v. *voloir*.
- vieult*, v. *voloir*.
- vieulté*, *vilté*, s.f., mépris, méchanceté; scorn, contempt.
- vilart*, v. *veillart*.
- vilain*, s.m., *paysan*; peasant; as adj., bas, vilain; low, common.
- vilté*, v. *vieulté*.
- vis*, s.m., figure, visage; face, countenance.
- vo*, atonic possessive for *vostre*.
- volenté*, *voulanté*, *voulunté*, s.f., *volonté*; will.
- voloir*, v.a., vouloir; wish. Pres. ind. 1, *vueil* 10, D10; *wueil* 17; 3, *vieult* D10; 6, *veulent*; pres. subj. 3, *veuille* D91; *wueille* 16.
- voulanté*, *voulunté*, v. *volenté*.
- vray*, *troy*, adj., vrai; true. As subst. 10.
- wueil*, v. *voloir*.
- Wueil*, *wueille*, v. *voloir*.
- Yceulx*, pron. dam., obl. plur., D495.
- ymaige*, v. *image*.
- ysgnel*, adj., rapide, vif, prompt; quick, prompt, ready.

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